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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No. 1872



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# EAST EUROPE REPORT POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1872

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#### CPCZ LEADERS SPEAK TO DISTRICT CONFERENCES

Josef Havlin in Domazlice

Pilsen PRAVDA in Czech 16 Feb 81 p 3

[From a Speech by Josef Havlin in Domazlice]

[Text] The level of development achieved by our society is the result of the conscientious policies of the CPCZ and the selfless work and commitment of all working people, particularly communists. The general line for the building of developed socialism outlined by the 14th, and further elaborated by the 15th Party Congress, has been verified in the course of the seventies as the proper Marxist-Leninist course for our country, one which we will continue to follow in upcoming years. The fulfillment of this path has raised our society to a qualitatively higher level. Because of this, positive preconditions have been created for the further development of all areas of human activity. We can state responsibly that matters are leading in our country to the gradual improvement and maturing of the socialist social order and to the multifaceted application of its legality. Communists and party organizations are winning over workers for the fulfillment of demanding tasks, have involved themselves in all sectors of social activity, and are actively participating in the solution of even the most complicated tasks. Communists are aware that there does not exist a sector so unimportant or insignificant that they would underestimate or overlook it. They are aware that there are only sectors where communist influence is significant and those where it is weaker, and that it is not possible to be comfortable with this.

The main attention of the party has been and continues to be focused on the solution of serious economic and social problems. The solution of individual problems will not be easy, even in the future. This places great demands on the work of every communist. The struggle for the full realization of the program for the building of developed socialism, for the implementation of the line of the 16th Party Congress must become a concern of all people. A precondition for this is the development of broad, creative labor activity by communists and by all working people. Communists at all workplaces must strive to see to it that every factory, work collective, and individual employee puts out a maximum of effort for successful national economic and overall social results in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. These efforts ought to manifest themselves, above all, in striving to achieve great dynamism in the creation and utilization of national income, given the existing resources of energy, raw materials, production inputs, and labor. This means that the results of our work should also be evident in improved, higher quality, more comprehensive satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of society, in the full development of the personality of every citizen.

However great or demanding our tasks are or will be, we have a guarantee that we will fulfill them. We have a strong, ideologically, politically, and organizationally unified party, and its experiences from revolutionary struggles, from more than 30 years of building socialism in our homeland.

We have a mature working class, cooperative farmers, and working intelligentsia, we have at our disposal the immense abilities, talent, and gifts of our people. We are a solid component of the community of socialist countries. In the Soviet Union we have a faithful and irreplaceable friend, and in the CPSU an inexhaustable source of experience and instruction for our daily work.

These are values of which we will always be proud, these are guarantees that we will continue with the building of a happy home for the people of this country.

#### Karel Hoffman in Pilsen

Pilsen PRAVDA in Czech 18 Feb 81 p 4

[From a speech by Karel Hoffman, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Chairman of the Central Union Council]

[Text] Since the last conference, and for the entire period since the 15th CPCZ Congress, communists of the city party organization in Pilsen have performed many successful activities in the interest of the working class and other working people, for the blossoming of this western Bohemian metropolis, and for further progress in the building of a developed socialist society. We therefore wish to convey our satisfied thanks to you, and through you to the whole Pilsen organization, to all Pilsen employees, workers, intelligentsia, women, men, and youth for your committed work, for your support of party policies, for everything which you have contributed to the strengthening of our socialist homeland. The day is approaching when the 16th CPCZ Congress will be convening in Prague. These pending highest-level discussions of Czechoslovak communists will cap a further successful 5-year period in the life of the party and the entire society, and conclude the stage of demanding activity connected with the preparation, conduct, and assurance of the results of the annual meetings and conferences of basic organizations, the district and regional conferences and congresses of Slovak communists.

Initiative Has Contributed to Success

Communists judge achieved results and problems soberly, rigorously, critically, and self-critically, adopt responsible positions regarding economic, internal political and foreign political questions, and approve the plans for further activity of the newly elected organs and functionaries, of all party members and candidates within their sphere of influence. We can, then, state with assurance that the annual member meetings and conferences fulfill their mission on the whole, contribute to the strengthening of the ideological, organizational, and action related unity of the party, to an improvement in party work, and that it has been possible to focus the strengths of the party on the solution of critical problems in accordance with the discussions of the 18th session of the Central Committee.

Moreover, this conference of yours—in accordance with the evaluation of other gatherings of additional communists—convincingly confirms that thanks to the initiative of workers, the committed activities of socialist work brigades, comprehensive rationalization brigades, and the fulfilled commitments of millions of individuals, we have overcome many obstacles and fulfilled most of the objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the national economy. We have, therefore, also been successful in strengthening the social certainties of working people, achieving a high standard of living, fulfilling the plan for apartment construction, expanding and improving the commercial, network, as well as the cultural, health care, rehabilitational, recreational, and other infrastructures. Even though as communists we cannot be, and are not, satisfied with the achieved results, even though we have not been successful in many areas, we can point to a relatively good balance, one which enables us to outline new, demanding tasks and objectives.

This rising socioeconomic development has been possible only because the vast majority of citizens has labored honorably, only because we have depended on cooperation with other socialist countries, above all, however, on firm ties with the USSR. This is also a reliable guarantee of our future. Only in this way can we achieve the objectives with which CPCZ Central Committee wants to appear before the 16th Party Congress—the assurance of the further development of the Czechoslovak economy and the maintenance, and when possible the further strengthening of the personal and social certainties of citizens.

At its 18th session, the CPCZ Central Committee warned that our future, the implementation of a program of socioeconomic development, is completely dependent on the following preconditions: on the significantly improved valuation of raw materials, energy, production inputs, plant and equipment, and human labor; on the more rapid application of scientific and technical progress; on a substantial improvement in the whole investment process and its efficiency; on an essential increase in the export capability of our economy and, above all, on a deepening of our participation in socialist economic integration.

We are all aware that these are not new objectives, that they were formulated as early as the 14th and 15th congresses, and that they have been emphasized many times by the Central Committee. As the CPCZ Central Committee constantly reminds us, as the conditions under which the Pilsen city Party organization functions indicate, as well as the actions and tasks of the great party organization in the V.I. Lenin factories, and as it has been written in the report of the city committee, it is our responsibility to introduce more emphatically elements of intensive economic growth, to support more actively scientific and technical development, and to utilize more fully and economically all resources, unused potential, and possibilities.

#### First-Priority Attention to the Economy

We can do no more than repeat again that the top priority requirement for party work is systematic attention to economic growth, to the more emphatic integration of requirements for increasing its performance and effectiveness. This is the key to achieving the creation of resources for economic development, for the preservation of, and increasing the quality of the living standard for our people, even in view of the growing complexity of internal and external conditions. This is the reason that the Central Committee is placing such emphasis on a responsible approach to the assurance of national economic tasks during this year and throughout the Seventh

Five-Year Plan at all levels of management, in all work collectives. Systematic attention to the further development of socialist competition, the application of creative labor initiatives of employees, and their responsible utilization must be at the center of their attention.

We directly link the assurance of economic development tasks in all branches of the national economy with the integration of the Set of Measures into daily life, with a significant improvement in management, with a realistic outlook and the efficient management of entrusted sectors by supervisory employees, with their high performance results, political and professional competence, and ability to master ever more demanding tasks. In the activities and attitude of regional committees and, therefore, also the city committee and party organizations in Pilsen, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the economy, along with education, are the main spheres today which are critical for further successes in the building of a developed socialist society. We conclude from this that there is a need to raise constantly the consciousness of millions of workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, of all levels of our society, to strengthen their conviction concerning the correctness of party policy, to develop much more intensively ideological and mass political work in close connection with the practice of socialist construction.

And so, as has been properly requested here in discussions, we must draw conclusions more decisively from the lack of fulfillment of objectives and resolutions. Everyone must do this, but above all party members and, without exception, managerial employees. And this must take place, obviously, at all levels. Comrade Husak has already spoken about this many times at sessions of the party Central Committee. He announced, with great emphasis, at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, that this approach will also be applied more emphatically by the Central Committee. Nevertheless, I repeat, this applies to all levels, in enterprises and factories as well. In these places it is impossible to wait until the Central Committee or District Committee intervenes; the basic organization committee, the factory or the city committee can and must intervene. Only if party agencies of all types draw relevant conclusions at their own levels can we achieve reforms and a permanent turnaround, can we assert the party-defined strategic line of development for the economy, and assure the socioeconomic program of the party.

#### Firm Alliance with the USSR

Especially in recent years we have become convinced of the deepening mutual interrelationship of our domestic and foreign policies and seen how closely connected is the building and socialist development of our country with external conditions. We are constantly becoming more strongly aware that the only reliable guarantee of our peaceful life, defense of calm work, safety, independence, and national freedom is a firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. It is proper to remind ourselves of this just at this time. The 16th CPCZ Congress will convene immediately after the 26th CPSU Congress, at a time when congresses of other fraternal parties are also convening. Just as in our country, the USSR and other socialist countries are now preparing and discussing their own five-year plans and the mutual coordination of them. In the current situation, when the most reactionary imperialist circles have adopted a course of sharpening tensions, feverish armament and attacks against the countries of real socialism, against the forces of progress and democracy, there is a fundamental significance to our active participation in the coordinated peace policy of the

nations of the socialist community led by the Soviet Union, and to our Support for the efforts of progressive, anti-imperialist, and democratic forces in the world. Developments during the seventies confirmed in practice that the policy of a reduction in tensions, a strengthening of peace and safety for peoples has no acceptable alternative.

Socialism, progressive and peace-loving forces, have fortified their position during this period and expanded their influence on overall international development. It is for this reason that militarist circles in recent years have increased their attacks on the foundations of the policy of reduced tensions.

#### Attempts to Weaken Socialism

An inseparable component and priority in the efforts of imperialism to turn world development to its advantage are attempts to weaken the international position of the socialist community, to weaken the class-based, international ties of its member countries, to set individual socialist countries against each other, and especially against the USSR, and to cause internal disruption. Systematic attacks and provocational campaigns are being conducted against the USSR in particular, and the countries of real socialism in general; various unfriendly actions are being undertaken with the objective of disrupting the very basis of the socialist order.

Since last year we have witnessed an open, focused, and coordinated attack by imperialism against the People's Republic of Poland. Western reactionary circles have been exploiting the difficult situation in that country, mobilizing antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces grouped, above all, around the so-called new union, Solidarity, and the so-called Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) so as to eliminate the socialist social order itself, under the banner of the struggle for the rights of the working class and for correcting deformations of socialism. The principle method for asserting these intentions has become the intentional calling forth and maintaining of an atmosphere of anarchy, of all kinds of strikes, pressure politics, general chaos, and the provocation of permanent social tension.

The current condition and development in the People's Republic of Poland shows that only a decisive and offensiveminded approach to counterrevolutionary forces contributes to a speeding up of political differentiation within society, to the defeat of the forces of reaction, and to the achievement of overall political and economic consolidation within a country. The results of the eighth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee attests to the fact that the fraternal Polish party is resolved to embark on this path.

We are convinced that it is within the power of communists, the working class, and the working people of Poland to overcome the difficulties and dangers which have arisen and to assure further socialist construction, to defend the basic values of socialism, Leninist standards in the life of a revolutionary party, to strengthen the task of the working class and the leading role of the party in society, to defend the socialist order from the plots of its enemies. Our Polish comrades, at the same time, can fully count on the fraternal solidarity and assistance of the other countries of the socialist community, including the CSSR. A unified voice has resounded at the annual member meetings and conferences of the CPCZ—the revolutionary, Marxist—Leninist forces in the People's Republic of Poland have the support of communists, the working class, other working people of the CSSR, who are standing faithfully and firmly by their side.

To Return Constantly to "Lessons"

What are the implications for us of the current development of the international situation and the events in the People's Republic of Poland? Among others, that our CPCZ Central Committee, not by chance, but fully justifiably, is warning of the necessity for returning constantly to one of the most important and permanently applicable documents of the CPCZ—to "Lessons Drawn from Crisis Development in the Party and Society," and in particular to intensify and strengthen the unity of, and leading role of the party in society; that our orientation to the USSR is proper and the sole possible alternative; that we must constantly strengthen unity with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, because the stronger this unity is, the more coordinated the actions of the socialist countries, the deeper our economic cooperation, then the more effective will be our defense of socialism, the more successful our struggle to prevent wars, to reduce international tensions, and for peaceful cooperation among peoples.

Our own findings, and the experiences of the other socialist countries, continue to bring new and convincing proof that the most important matter to which we are required to devote our attention, for which we are responsible, that is critical for the success of socialist construction, that is the principal condition for the final success of the revolutionary task of the working class, is the revolutionary vanguard, the CPCZ, its unity, maturity, strength, influence and capacity for action.

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#### URO REPORT REVEALS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WORKING WOMEN

Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Feb 81 p 6

[Report by the URO Presidium presented by URO secretary, J. Vesela: "The Work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Among Women"]

[Text] In conjunction with the main tasks of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] during the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress and for the 10th All Trade Union Congress the decision was made to include in the agenda of today's plenary session an independent report on the activities of trade unions in their work among women.

We return today to women's problems in order to assess the achievements since the 14th plenary session of the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] and the Ninth All Trade Union Congress and also because women represent 46 percent of our workers and 42 percent of the ROH membership. They constitute an important economic and political force contributing to the development of our entire society and thus, also to the development of ROH activities, and their specific problems deserve constant attention.

Many significant measures benefiting our working women and mothers have been implemented in recent years in accordance with the economic development and with the resources created with the active participation of the ROH.

We may say that the achievements our women attained in their social position and professional competence mean indisputable success for our whole socialist society. However, their achievements are not reflected only in the dynamic economic participation and employment of our women and in their overall social involvement, but also in the preconditions for the fulfillment of the irreplaceable role of the woman as a mother in conjunction with her effect on the upbringing of the children in the family. Our society protects the woman and mother not only in terms of health care and social security but also in terms of her educational role.

#### Exemplary Approach to Tasks

Czechoslovak women are energetic, imaginative and equal participants in political development; they take part in our economic and political life and thus they meet the objectives of the CPCZ economic and social policies. They share to a major extent in the fulfillment of the decisions articulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress and of the tasks stemming from them for the ROH.

Our women demonstrate all-encompassing creative enthusiasm in the development of work initiative, in the fulfillment of demanding national economic tasks, in their participation in socialist competition and in socialist labor teams. The versatile initiative of our working women is reflected in their vigorous, stimulating and often exemplary fulfillment of the tasks of production. Our women follow new, advanced methods of work, help upgrade the quality and efficiency of production, and conserve fuels and energy. They contributed thousands of hours in voluntary team work in the program "Trade Union Members to Their Plants and to the Republic" in order to improve their places of work and their plants, and to build nursery schools and day-care centers. Furthermore, women predominate in socialist labor teams which also have very extensive programs of afterwork activities; they adopt patronage of day-care centers and nursery schools, youth homes and social institutions. No less meritoirous is their work with apprentices and young working women who are newcomers in work teams. They help them master the tasks of production, work rationally and efficiently and use new methods of work organization.

Another proof of this extraordinary, steadily growing women's involvement in the working process is the fact that enterprises and plants where the majority of employees are women fulfilled now tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan despite numerous difficulties and complex problems, and in many instances they surpassed their planned tasks in conservation of materials, raw materials and energy, and raised the quality of products. We greatly appreciate women's work in individual branches of production as much as their demanding and responsible work in health care, in the educational system, business, services and culture.

Nevertheless, working women's exemplary initiative, achievements and overall social involvement do not always and everywhere receive due credit in the form of awards from the state, ministries, enterprises, etc. The number of women so honored is growing year after year but it still lags behind their actual share in the achievements gained.

In accordance with the vigorous activity of our working women and their participation in the development of our cultural and social life, the ROH is trying to establish proper conditions for a comprehensive, harmonic development of women's personality and the total self-realization of women.

Since the 14th plenary session of the URO, women's problems have become a more integral part of all trade union work. When dealing with those problems, however, our trade union organs must be far more tenacious of purpose and more systematic in including them properly in plans for cadre training, personal and social development, collective contracts and operational programs.

By joint efforts of the state, economic and trade union organs, we achieved better working and living conditions. Accordingly, women's participation in the administration of our society expanded, their political awareness intensified, their education and qualification advanced along with their participation in our political and public life and with their involvement in the work of the ROH. We have the right to regard this accomplishment as positive, however, it also obligates us to continue paying attention to questions left thus far unresolved.

Our trade union organs are doing excellent work in the program of social control of work safety and health protection. Controls of work safety and health protection, conducted annually, constantly help improve our working environment, but at the same time, they disclose additional or new shortcomings appearing primarily during the introduction of new methods of work, new technology and new operational procedures. Control and strict insistence that trade union organs implement the adopted decision continuously and systematically help to intensify the effort of our economic and state organs to improve the working environment, enhance prevention and reduce the rate of accidents and occupational diseases.

Control reduced the number of workplaces unsuitable for women, improved hygiene and public facilities, organized health clinics, improved conditions is places of work by installing ari conditioning and better lighting and by reducing dust and noise pollution.

The purpose of control is not only to identify the shortcomings but also to prevent them. The task of prevention is important because it affects, among other things, the incidence of injuries at work. For years, the rate of women's occupational accidents declined steadily and concurrently with the increasing numbers of working women, however, this positive development stopped in 1979 when that rate increased in every branch of our national economy, except in agriculture. We cannot accept the argument that this deviation was coincidental. We regard it as a warning signal which must be faced with all seriousness. It seems that due attention has not been always paid to safety of women's work. In agreement with the decision of the Ninth All Trade Union Congress, it is primarily the duty of trade union councils to study the causes of accidents and to demand that within public control our economic organs strictly observe the regulations pertaining to women's work.

Basic organizations and trade union councils contributed in a meaningful way to the positive achievements in reduction of the number of women handling excessively bulky loads. If 500,000 women were handling such loads in 1971, their number dropped to 75,000 in 1980. If we consider statistical data alone, we may feel satisfied with such achievements. However, let us ask whether it is not possible to resolve this problem once and for all.

Some branches which began systematically and responsibly eliminating heavy physical work by women as soon as Decision No 32 issued by the government of the CSSR became valid have resolved this problem quite successfully. On the other hand, astonishingly tardy and unfavorable development has been noted in branches such as trade, public dining facilities, local economy, health services and some food industry enterprises where the strenuous physical work performed by women could not been completely eliminated. It depends mainly on our economic organs to resolve this problem for good, but at the same time basic trade union organizations and organs must be more helpful.

Thus far, supplies of equipment for workers' personal protection are not without their specific problems. Joint meetings of the URO secretariat and the Presidium of the CSSR government, held in 1980 and this year, adopted measures to balance the necessary volume of their production. The desired quality, selection and

adequate supplies of the required sizes have not been completely achieved, especially in articles suitable for women. The greatest shortcomings are evident in procurement of work gloves and footwear, waterproof garments and appropriate noise—suppressing devices. To achieve improvement, such means must be used with care and their useful life must be extended by regular maintenance. Economic organisations are primarily responsible for the production of safety equipment for work, but the trade union organs may also improve conditions by channeling the initiative in the correct direction.

#### To Improve Our Health Care

One of the important areas where trade union organs should enhance their influence is health care. A high standard of the care for women's health is evident in plants with their own health centers, which permits proper organization and the necessary arrangement of preventive medical examinations. Nevertheless, we are not, and cannot be, satisfied with health care in plants and organizations lacking health centers, mostly plants and places of work with a small work force, which cannot afford to organize and maintain health centers. Therefore, some opportunities must be offered to them to build joint health centers and special health facilities. In many instances, such plants and places of work have particularly high quotas of female employees, for example, small textile and food-processing plants or agricultural organizations, retail stores, local economy, communications and educational system.

It is particularly urgent to improve health care further because women's disability is rising. Women also predominate in high-intensity and stereotype operations with high shift rate and overtime work, but neither should we overlook the stress of women after their working hours. Their situation is complicated most of all by inefficient services and inconvenier: store hours which affect women far more than men. The current trend in disability indicates that women's overall stress is escalating and that it adversely affects their health. The causes of the rising rate of women's disability call for analyses in depth and a search for solutions. Trade union organs must insist more emphatically on due consideration of workers' health and on systematic conduct of initial and regular preventive examinations.

We have discussed all these problems frequently at plenary sessions of the URO and at other occasions and our economic and trade union organs are familiar with them. Recent joint sessions of the governmental, economic and trade union organs on the level of the republics, as well as of the federation, adopted steps toward their solution. We realize that such shortcomings cannot be overcome from day to day and all at once and that they call for gradual but consistent reforms in such stages as they are approved and adopted.

On the other hand, it is possible to resolve expeditiously certain partial shortcomings in women's work which demand no major financial outlays and whose solution often only requires better organization of work and some adaptation of the production facilities and workplaces.

Our concern about improvement of women's living conditions is indivisibly linked with the organization of good working conditions.

It is in the interest of our society and of women themselves that they promptly rejoin the process of production after their maternity leave, which depends on the availability of adequate facilities for preschool children. By mutual understanding and good cooperation of our economic and trade union organs with national committees, facilities for preschool children were expanded during the Sixth Five-Year Plan by 225,000 units. Such a significant accomplishment is proof that such can be achieved if the approach to the solution follows the objective in accordance with the jointly adopted concept. Consequently, placement of children in preschool facilities has been resolved in several okreses. Our rapidly growing generation of preschool age makes it imperative for us to continue building such facilities. More than 160,000 applications for placement of children in day-care centers remain unfulfilled. Currently the situation is most unsatisfactory in our major cities, particularly in Prague, Brno, Bratislava and some other communities. Thus, this question remains in the center of attention of all interested organizations and institutions, and our trade union organizations must help further in obtaining financial funds for the construction and equipment of such facilities and furthermore, supply auxiliary work force. However, we are now facing a new problem which thus far did not seen very urgent-to provide sufficient places in afterschool study groups and offer opportunities for children's afterschool activitien.

A relevant question concerns the increasing rate of brief periods of illness in preschool and school-age children. Its causes vary; despite improved health care, children nowadays are less immune to diseases and, also, a higher concentration of children in groups increases the risk of their contagion. We want to mention this fact since every day 50,000 women are absent from work because they have to nurse their sick children. It is, therefore, imperative that responsible officials of health care, educational system and national committees, in cooperation with our trade union organs, deal seriously with this problem.

The rising living conditions go hand in hand with certain negative phenomena which our women criticize-above all, poor coordination of transportation to and from work, inferior and inadequate services, irregularly supplied stores and inconvenient store hours. Our women stress that despite the adopted regulations the adjusted work schedule introduced in 1979 failed at the same time to provide better conditions for them. The schedule of facilities for preschool children and afterschool study groups has not always been adapted to suit actual needs; cafeterias and snack bars in plants are not equipped ot offer even basic food staples and convenience foods for sale. Approaches to the solution of those problems may vary according to specific conditions in individual places of work and residence. It should be considered whether shopping and services could be made available directly in the plants or in their vicinity, or whether women should be able to shop for their household needs in the place of their residence. This question is narrowly linked with the expansion and improvement of plant and school dining facilities which considerably affect the amount of food purchased and prepared in households.

It is imperative that our trade union organizations help expand and improve the opportunities for shopping and services directly in plants or in their vicinity, and, where appropriate conditions are lacking, that they help resolve such

problems in cooperation with national committees in the place of workers' residence by including the in the National Front election programs. Certain tasks aimed at improvement of women's living conditions must be enforced by programs and plans for cadre training and personal and social development, serving as a valuable tool for futhher intensification of comprehensive care for our working people rendered by our economic and trade union organs.

#### Women's Political Involvement on the Upswing

The dynamic economic activities of women and creation of appropriate conditions for their work and life are auspiciously reflected in women's participation in our political and public life. The rising level of their education and qualification significantly helped women find their rightful place in our socialist society. If we consider the overall rise in women's qualification, we may note that the number of women in skilled jobs has more than tripled since 1960. Most of all, the number of women college graduates or those with secondary vocational training increased and more women are skilled workers. If some time ago women without any training were entering the working process, today the number of unskilled female workers in very low. However, women in schools are focusing mainly on humanities, although at the current stage of scientific and technological development our economy needs many more female employees in technical fields than ever before.

The qualifications and skills our women have achieved are not always fully utilized in accordance with the current needs of our society and in accordance with the needs of women themselves. The distance of the place of work from their home, the work schedule and opportunities for the placement of their children in preschool facilities are frequently decisive for women choosing a job. For that reason, women often work in jobs that are not commensurate with their qualification.

The higher level of women's education also fails to be reflected in their share of positions in economic management, even in branches where female employees predominate. Appropriate ministries, in cooperation with trade union organs, must become far more involved in providing orientation and adequate opportunities for women.

We regard thorough and forward-looking implementation of acdre and personal work in plants and enterprises as one of the ways to improve this situation.

Women's political activities and involvement have developed and are evident to the best advantage in the operations of the ROH itself, as attested by women's membership in trade union organizations on all levels where more than 800,000 women are active; 41.5 percent of women are working in top trade union and all-union organs, 42.8 percent in Czech and Slovak committees of trade union councils, 49.1 percent in middle-level trade union organs, 41.8 percent in all-union organs, and 48.5 percent in basic organizations. This is proof that the number of women actively involved in every sector and level of trade union work is continuously increasing.

We can say without any exaggeration that the influx of women in trade union functions has affected, and is still advantageously affecting, the overall progress of trade union activities. Nevertheless, the fact that we have an

adequate number of female trade union officials cannot satisfy us. In preparation for the ROH annual membership sectings, conferences and congresses we must attempt to balance women's representation in elective, administrative and other trade union offices even more with women's organization in trade unions, in order to achieve appropriate reforms in all organizations where women are not adequately represented.

A numberous aktiv of women officials works in women's commissions whose membership counts more than 40,000 women. As an auxiliary aktiv of elected organs on all levels, particularly in plant and shop committees, they help significantly in dealing with urgent problems of women. The commissions help mobilize women for the fulfilment of economic tasks and serve as one of the tools involving a large contingent of women in concrete daily work and offering them a greater share in the initiation and implementation of trade union programs.

If we review the work of women's commissions, we find certain shortcomings in their operations stemming mainly from the discrepancies in their administration by appropriate trade union organs. In order to upgrade the work of women's commissions, it is imperative that, when dealing with problems pertaining to women, plant committees in particular rely more on the work of the commissions, that they pursue their work with more tenacity of purpose and cooperate with them, that they engage basic trade union organization far more in the drafting of documents, and that in their daily work they apply more efficiently the experience and stimulating suggestions offered by the members of women's commissions when developing labor incentives and intensifying organizational methods and political education in trade union organizations.

Experience has confirmed the contribution of women's commissions but, at the same time, for further improvement and intensification of their work in general it seems that their activities on all levels of the trade union structure need to be analyzed.

One of the important areas of trade union work is cadre training and education which is closely linked with women's training for official functions in trade unions. Increasingly more attention is being focused on this problem and thus more women are participating most of all in courses and training organized by centers and departments of trade union education. Furthermore, special courses organized in the Antonin Zapotocky Central ROH Institute for women officials proved successful. Some trade union councils and their organs also adopted this method of training women officials. The Regional Committee of Trade Union Councils of the TOK workers in East Bohemia Kraj which offers 1-year correspondence courses for women may serve as an example.

However, we have not always created such conditions and selected such forms and methods of organized training as would be convenient to women in terms of their family duties and their employment status, and at the same time, make educational work possible in the directions and scope needed for further upgrading of women's education and training for elective offices as well as for their work in the trade union system.

In spite of certain difficulties in women's training with which we have to cope, we have succeeded in steadily increasing the number of trained women officials. It is, however, a most question how successful we are in employing those women officials, what the level of their activity is, and whether their training is producing desirable results.

Out wemen are also active in other social organizations where they find ample opportunities to use their knowledge and experience gained in their work for the ROH. Furthermore, they proved their mettle as deputies in various representative councils. Their active participation in those organizations and organs increased women's share in the administration and organization of our society. Elections to representative councils are scheduled for this year, and it is our common task to nominate as candidates for deputies women who are experienced, politically mature and capable members of the ROH.

One cooperation developing between the ROH organs, national committees and other social organizations of the National Front also offers firm foundations for the further development of cooperation between the ROH and the CSSZ [Czechoslovak linion of Women]. Experience thus far has shown that the point of gravity in this recepetation rests primarily on okres trade union organs and on okres CSSZ committees which are the closest link to basic organizations and have the best opportunity in influence women's living conditions. At the present time the URO and the CSSZ Central Committee are drafting a document on joint procedures and on the offect of both organizations in shaping socialist working and living conditions for women.

#### Living and Working Conditions

During the period of intensive preparations of the ROH preceding the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th All Trade Union Congress, the following tasks in particular must be met in the work of trade unions among women:

- is provide and develop the activity and initiative of working women, to focus them on vital tasks in every branch of our national economy, and to reward them according to merit;
- interduce substantive changes in the selection and nomination of female univers and women active in public work for awards granted by the state, the ministries, enterprises and trade unions, and to achieve representation communicate to their activity in their work, their accomplishments and their public involvement;
- administrative offices of the trade union organs and in the trade union system;
- training, personal and social development and collective contracts, so as to establish the best possible working and living conditions for our women. To demand that workers responsible for unfulfilled tasks and ascertained shortcowings, expecially in fulfillment of collective contracts, be penalized;

--to exercise systematic control of conditions under which exceptions are made allowing women to work during the night or overtime and to perform strenuous physical work, and to redu-e such exceptions to a minimum;

—in close cooperation of economic organs with appropriate organs of trade union councils to deal efficiently with the problems of women working in sectors of local economy, trade, health care and educational system, and link their solution with the program for further upgrading of the services rendered to the population, adjustment of stores hours and schedules of operation, better health care and management of nursery schools, day-care centers and afterschool study groups, so that all such services facilitate women's care for their children and families;

--to intensify the cooperation of trade union organs with national committees in drafting and implementing the National Front election platforms and thus, to participate in further improvement of women's living and working conditions;

--to analyze the activity of women's commissions and, on the basis of its results, to adopt measures to intensify and improve their work in all trade union organs and organizations. To put in action the initiative of women's commissions when drafting basic documents to be adopted by trade union organs and organizations.

An objective and critical look at positive achievements as well as at perennial shortcomings in the work of the trade unions among women enables us to set up higher and more ambitious goals for further comprehensive development in this area of trade union work.

There is no substitution for the position and the task of the working womanmother-citizen of our socialist society and, therefore, we emphasize so much the demand that propoer living and working conditions be provided for our women. That is the only way for women to achieve an even more prominent and qualitative share in the development of our whole socialist society.

Intensified activities of all trade union organs and organizations before the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of the party's founding also generated the atmosphere for more dynamic involvement of our women in the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the Seventh Five-Year Plan and y the decisions of the 7th and the 10th plenary sessi ns of the URO.

It is a fact that successful fulfillment of all these tasks will determine the achievement of the main objective of the CPCZ policy--to satisfy the material and cultural needs of our working people in the best possible way, and our women fully realize this and their honest daily work proves their determination to make their own contribution to the further development of our socialist society.

The World Congress of Women will convene in Prague in October and at that occasion the representatives of member organizations of the International Democratic Women's Federation and of various progressive women's and other organizations will meet to review the results achieved in their efforts to improve

women's status and in promoting their economic, social and cultural rights. The fact that the congress will take place in socialist Dzechoslovakia will offer us an opportunity to demonstrate what our society has done for women's equality in every area of life and for the complete harmony of their maternal, economic and social functions.

In conclusion, I should like to use this occasion to express on behalf of the URO our sincere and comradely appreciation to all women for their dedicated and responsible work to the benefit of our society, for bringing up their children and for strengthening the socialist family. I should like to voice my conviction that in the coming demanding period our women will not slacken in their work and that they will honestly face their future tasks in the building of our developed socialist society in the way outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

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#### DECREE ON ARMED FORCES SERVICE, DISABILITY PENSIONS AMENDED

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 17, 16 Mar 81 pp 283-293

[Decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.) of the Council of Ministers Concerning Modification of Government Decree No 22/1971 (VI. 1.) Concerning Pensions for Professional Members of the Armed Forces and Armed Bodies]

[Text] Government Decree No 22/1971 (VI. 1.) concerning pensions for professional members of the armed forces and armed bodies (hereinafter R)—as modified by Council of Ministers decrees 22/1972 (VI. 21.), 23/1977 (VII. 1.) and 7/1980 (III. 8.)—is modified as follows:

- 1. The following provision takes the place of Section 2 of the R:
- "2. (1) A member of the professional staff is entitled to a full service pension upon completion of the 55th year of life.
- (2) That member of the professional staff is entitled to a service pension--independent of age--who has 25 years of service, calculable from the viewpoint of a pension, at the time his service relationship ends."
- 2. The following provision takes the place of Section 4 of the R:
- "4. That member of the professional staff for whom a disability pension was established and whose disability comes to an end acquires entitlement to a service pension if his service time at the time his disability ends together with the time spent in disability retirement comes to 25 years."
- 3. Paragraph (1) of Section 16 of the R is supplemented by the following provisions:

"However, that person whose service relationship comes to an end before completion of the 55th year of life because of a reduction in working ability up to or exceeding 67 percent can be awarded only a disability pension."

4. The following provision takes the place of paragraph (2) of Section 19 of the R:

- "(2) The pension of a member of the professional staff must be established on the basis of a monthly average of the total salary received in the 12 months preceding the completion of the 25th year of service if this is more favorable to him."
- 5. The following provision takes the place of Section 22 of the R:
- "22. The sum of the service pension is:

11	the	number	of	full	service	years	is:	The sum of pension, percent of salary average, is:	
				25				65.0	
				26				66.0	
				27				67.5	
				28				69.0	
				29				70.5	
				30				72.0	
				31				73.5	
				32				75.0	
				33				76.5	
								78.0	
				34 35				79.5	
				36				81.0	
					nd more			83.0"	

- 6. The following provision takes the place of paragraph (1) of Section 23 of the R:
- "(1) The sum of the disability pension not interdependent with service obligations is:

If the number of full service years is	The sum of the pension, percent of salary average, is, according to disability group:		
	III.	11.	I.
0	50.0	55.0	60.0
0	50.5	55.5	60.5
2	51.0	56.0	61.0
3	51.5	56.5	61.5
4	52.0	57.0	62.0
5	52.5	57.5	62.5
6	53.0	58.0	63.0
7	53.5	58.5	63.5
8	54.0	59.0	64.0
9	54.5	59.5	64.5
10	55.0	60.0	65.0
11	55.5	60.5	65.5
12	56.0	61.0	66.0
13	56.5	61.5	66.5

14	57.0	62.0	67.0
15	57.5	62.5	67.5
16	58.0	63.0	68.0
17	58.5	63.5	68.5
18	59.0	64.0	69.0
19	59.5	64.5	69.5
20	60.0	65.0	70.0
21	61.0	66.0	71.0
22	62.0	67.0	72.0
23	63.0	68.0	73.0
24	64.0	69.0	74.0
25	65.0	70.0	75.0
26	66.0	71.0	76.0
27	67.5	72.5	77.5
28	69.0	74.0	79.0
29	70.5	75.5	80.5
30	72.0	77.0	82.0
31	73.5	78.5	83.5
32	75.0	80.0	85.0
33	76.5	81.5	86.5
34	78.0	83.0	88.0
35	79.5	84.5	89.5
36	81.0	86.0	91.0
37 and more	83.0	88.0	93.0"

- 7. The following provision takes the place of paragraph (6) of Section 28 of the R:
- "(6) The advantaged retirement allowance cannot be less than the sum of the allowance, increased by 300 forints, authorized for relatives of the heroic dead in accordance with the social insurance provisions."
- 8. The following provisions take the place of paragraphs (1)--(3) of Section 31 of the R:
- "(1) A person who has not yet completed the 50th year of life when his service relationship comes to an end must be paid 50 percent of the service pension established for him until he completes his 55th year of life or until his working ability is reduced to at least 50 percent.
- (2) A person how has completed the 50th year of life but has not yet reached the 55th year of life when his service relationship comes to an end must be paid 70 percent of the service pension established for him until he completes his 55th year of life or until his working ability is reduced to at least 50 percent.
- (3) Even before reaching the upper age limit the full service pension established must be paid to him who is found unfit for professional service by a medical examining committee of the armed forces or an armed body or for whom—through no fault of his own—a service assignment cannot be provided and whose service relationship thereby comes to an end."

- 9. The following provision takes the place of Section 35 of the R:
- "35. The provisions of the social insurance regulations are the guide in regard to limitations on the payment of service or disability pensions in the event of gainful employment, a work relationship, a cooperative membership relationship, parttime work or other legal relationship aimed at the performance of work."
- 10. The following provision takes the place of paragraph (2) of Section 38 of the R:
- "(2) Exceptional allowances can be authorized as well, taking into consideration the social situation, but the sum thereof, together with allowances in accordance with this decree, can be at most 4,000 forints per month."
- 11. That member of the professional staff who has already completed or who will complete by 31 December 1981 the 50th year of life and who has at least 25 years of service time can choose whether the establishment and payment of retirement allowances should be according to this decree or according to the regulations prior to its going into effect. This provision is also the guide in regard to establishing retirement allowances for relatives.
- 12. (1) This decree—with the exception of Section 9—goes into effect on 1 July 1981; its provisions must be applied to those retiring after it goes into effect. The second sentence of paragraph (3) of Section 21 of the R--established by Section 1 of Council of Ministers decree No 22/1972 (VI. 21.)—simultaneously loses its effect.
- (2) Section 9 goes into effect on 1 January 1982; its provisions are the guide for all pension payment—independent of the time of retirement. Council of Ministers decree No 7/1980 (III. 8.) simultaneously loses its effect.

signed: Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier, Council of Ministers

The Text of Government Decree No 22/1971 (VI. 1.) Concerning Pensions for Professional Members of the Armed Forces and Armed Bodies Put Into a Uniform Format With The Modifying Decrees<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of authorization received in paragraph (1) of Section 46 of Law Decree No 10, 1971 (hereinafter Tvr) concerning the service relationship of the professional staffs of the armed forces and armed bodies the Council of Ministers decrees the following:

Chapter I, The Effect of the Decree

1. The effect of the decree covers the members of the professional staffs (here-inafter, professional staff) of the armed forces (people's army and border guard) and armed bodies (police, workers guard and correctional personnel) and the family members of them.

#### Chapter II, Pension Entitlement

#### The Service Pension

- 2. [See above]2
- 3. Service time must be calculated on the basis of Section 33 of the Tvr.
- 4. [See above]3

#### The Disability Pension

5. A member of the professional staff is entitled to a disability pension without regard to service time if his service relationship came to an end because of a reduction in working ability up to or exceeding 67 percent or who becomes disabled within 2 years following the end of the service relationship.

#### The Accident Allowance

- 6. (1) A member of the professional staff is entitled to an accident allowance without regard to service time if
- (a) the accident or injury is related to service obligations or if
- (b) there is a reduction in working ability exceeding 15 percent due to an illness deriving from service.
- (2) If the reduction in working ability does not exceed 15 percent then the accident allowance lasts for at most 2 years.

#### The Widow's Pension

- 7. (1) The widow of a member of the professional staff or the widow of a pensioner is entitled to a widow's pension for 12 months calculated from the death of her husband--without regard to the service time of the deceased spouse.
- (2) A widow is entitled to a widow's pension beyond the 12 months if
- (a) her husband died as a result of an accident or injury related to service obligations or as a result of an illness deriving from service,
- (b) her husband was disabled at the time of his death, for the period of the disability,
- (c) her husband had completed the 55th year of life at the time of his death,
- (d) she is taking care of at least two children entitled to an orphan's allowance because of her husband, as long as at least one child receives an orphan's allowance,
- (e) her husband is proclaimed the dead of the armed forces or armed body, for 5 years calculated from the death of her husband.

(3) A widow whose husband had completed the 60th year of life at the time the marriage was made is entitled to a widow's pension only if children were born from the marriage (cohabitation) or if they lived together for 5 years after the marriage was made.

The Widow's Pension for Divorced or Separated Wife

- 8. (1) A woman whose marriage was dissolved or a wife who has lived separately from her husband for more than one year is entitled to a widow's pension only if she was receiving alimony from her husband at the time of his death or if the conditions necessary for a widow's pension supervene within 15 years calculated from the separation and a court has not established that she is undeserving of support.
- (2) A divorced woman or a wife living separately is entitled to the widow's pension for 12 months following the death only if she was receiving alimony at the time of the death of the husband or if a court had established that alimony was due.

#### Rights of a Life-Partner

- 9. (1) A woman (life-partner) is entitled to a widow's pension under conditions equal to a wife if she had lived with the deceased man for one year immediately prior to his death, if a child was born from this cohabitation and the man admitted paternity or it was established by a court with force of law.
- (2) A life-partner is also entitled to a widow's pension if she had lived with the deceased man for at least 10 years prior to his death, without a break.
- (3) A woman is not entitled to a widow's pension because of the deceased lifepartner if a widow's pension was established earlier and she made use of it during the time, or part thereof, of cohabitation necessary for entitlement to a widow's pension according to paragraphs (1) and (2).

Rights of a Wife (Life-Partner) of a Man Who Has Disappeared

- 10. (1) A wife (life-partner) whose husband has disappeared and whose disappearance has been established by a court with force of law is entitled to a widow's pension just as if her husband had died.
- (2) The appropriate minister or national commander of the workers guard (hereinafter appropriate minister) can also establish the disappearance.
- (3) What is contained in paragraphs (1) and (2) must also be employed in judging entitlement to orphan's allowances and parent's pensions.

Ending and Removing the Widow's Pension

11. (1) The widow's pension comes to an end if the widow marries before completion of the 55th year of life. $^4$ 

- (2) A widow's entitlement to a widow's pension is removed if the widow's pension did not come to an end as a result of a new marriage if she becomes disabled or completes the 55th year of life within 15 years calculated from when the widow's pension came to an end.
- (3) Entitlement to a widow's pension which can to an end because of a marriage made on or after 1 May 1963 is renewed in the event of the ending of this marriage if
- (a) the claimant did not receive a lump sum payment at the time of the marriage, and
- (b) The claimant would have been entitled to a widow's pension beyond 12 months if there had not been another marriage.

#### A Widow's Pension for a Man

- 12. (1) A husband, incapable of working, of a woman member of the professional staff or of a woman pensioner is entitled to a widow's pension if for one year prior to her death his wife supported him in her own home or to an overwhelming extent from her own earnings or if a court has established alimony for the husband.
- (2) A widow's pension for a man lasts as long as he is incapable of working or until he remarries. Entitlement to a widow's pension does not come to an end if the marriage took place after the widower completed the 60th year of life.

#### Lump Sum Payment

- 13. (1) A widow whose widow's pension goes beyond 12 months and which comes to an end because of a new marriage is entitled to a lump sum payment equal to one year of the widow's pension.
- (2) Even a woman whose entitlement to a widow's pension does not come to an end because of a new marriage can request a lump sum payment in place of a continuation of the widow's pension. 5

#### Orphan's Allowance

- 14. (1) The children, step-children and adopted children of a deceased member of the professional staff or of a deceased pensioner are entitled to an orphan's allowance.
- (2) An orphan's allowance is also due to foster children, siblings and grand-children if they were being supported in the household of the deceased member of the professional staff or deceased pensioner and if there is no relative of the foster child, sibling or grandchild who is obliged to and capable of supporting them.

- (3) The orphan's allowance continues until the orphan completes the 16th year of life. If the orphan continues middle or higher education in regular classes the orphan's allowance continues until the completion of studies, but at most until the orphan completes the 25th year of life.
- (4) If the orphan becomes disabled before the ending of entitlement in accordance with paragraph (3) and needs to be supported then entitlement to the orphan's allowance continues for the duration of this condition without regard to age.
- (5) Entitlement to the orphan's allowance is not affected if the surviving parent of the orphan marries or if the orphan is adopted.<sup>5</sup>

#### Parent's Pension

- 15. (1) Parents and grandparents of a deceased member of the professional staff or of a deceased pensioner are entitled to a parent's pensio if they were disabled at the time of the death and if the deceased had supported them, in whole or in overwhelming part, for one year prior to his death.
- (2) Step parents and foster parents are also entitled to a parent's pension if they meet the conditions set forth in paragraph (1) and if they supported the deceased for at least 10 years.
- (3) The parent's pension lasts as long as the parent (grandparent) is disabled.
- (4) If a parent or grandparent becomes disabled within 10 years after the death of a member of the professional staff or of a pensioner they acquire entitlement to a parent's pension only if there is no relative obliged to and capable of supporting them.

#### Chapter III, Causes Excluding and Limiting Entitlement

- 16. (1) Only one retirement allowance is permitted; those entitled to more than one can choose among them. (See above for supplement to this paragraph) $^6$
- (2) As an exception to the provisions of paragraph (1), a woman entitled to a widow's pension who acquires entitlement to a pension in her own right can request that the retirement allowance chosen be supplemented by the other retirement allowance. The supplement can be up to the limit sum established in social insurance regulations, increased by 200 forints, if the widow is entitled to at least one of the retirement allowances on the basis of provisions pertaining to pensions for members of the professional staff. From the viewpoint of this limit sum one must ignore incentive pension supplements and allowances paid on the basis of factory accidents suffered after establishing retirement allowances in one's own right.
- 17. (1) One is not entitled to a pension in a cordance with this decree if a court sentences one with force of law to a term of more than 3 years for a deliberate crime against the state or against peace and humanity or to a term of more than 5 years for other deliberate crimes.

- (2) The pension rights of a person designated in paragraph (1) must be judged on the basis of regulations pertaining to the social insurance pensions of workers.
- 18. (1) A person is not entitled to a disability pension if he deliberately causes the disability himself.
- (2) A disability pension cannot be established on the basis of this decree for a disability which occurs more than two years following the termination of the service relationship. Such a claim must be judged on the basis of regulations pertaining to social insurance pensions for workers.
- (3) A family member who deliberately caused the death of a member of the professional staff or of a pensioner is not entitled to a retirement allowance.

Chapter IV, Basis for and Size of the Retirement Allowance

The Basis for the Retirement Allowance

- 19. (1) The size of the pension must be established on the basis of a monthly average of all salary for the 12 months preceding the termination of the service relationship.
- (2) [See above]7
- (3) If a pilot is permamently forbidden to fly for health reasons then his pension must be based not on his own salary but on the salary of a pilot of the same rank, assignment and classification at the time of the termination of his service relationship in accordance with the rules in paragraph (1), presuming that this is more favorable to him.
- 20. The sum of the accident allowance must be established on the basis of the average total salary received in the 12 calendar months preceding the medically established time of the accident or reduction in working ability caused by an illness deriving from service. If a member of the professional staff received salary prior to the accident for less than 12 months the accident allowance must be established on the basis of one month's average of the salary received for this shorter time.
- 21. (1) When establishing the salary constituting the basis for the pension one must take into consideration all pay and supplements, awards received for work done in the assignment, premiums and shares and the accident allowance.
- (2) The salary average established on the basis of paragraph (1) -- cannot be lower than
- (a) for officers, the combined sum of the highest salary established for the rank of lieutenant and the lowest officer assignment with 10 years of service time,
- (b) for noncommissioned officers, the combined sum of the highest salary established for the rank of staff sergeant and the lowest noncommissioned officer assignment with 10 years of service time;

#### -- and cannot be higher than

the highest sum for average monthly earnings according to social insurance regulations taken into consideration when establishing old age pensions.

(3) When establishing the salary constituting the basis for the pension the award can be calculated in accordance with the one month sum of the average salary.

The Size of Service and Disability Pensions

22. [See above]9

service

23. (1) [See above] 10

If the number of full

(2) The sum of the disability pension interdependent with service obligations is:

The sum of the pension, percent of salary

years is			disability group
	ш.	11.	1.
0	60	65	70
	61	66	71
1 2 3 4	62	67	72
3	63	68	73
4	64	69	74
5	65	70	75
5 6 7 8 9	66	71	76
7	67	72	77
8	68	73	78
9	69	74	79
10	70	75	80
11	71	76	81
12	72	77	82
13	73	78	83
14	74	79	84
15	75	80	85
16	76	81	86
17	77	82	87
18	78	83	88
19	79	84	89
20	80	85	90
21	81	86	91
22	82	87	92
23	83	88	93
24	84	89	94
25	85	90	95
26	86	91	96
27	87	92	97
28	88	93	98

29	89	94	99
30	90	95	100
31	91	96	100
32	92	97	100
33	93	98	100
34	94	99	100
35	95	100	100
36	96	100	100
37	97	100	100
38	98	100	100
39	99	100	100
40 and more	100	100	10011

- (3) Those in disability group III are those who have lest at least 67 percent of their working ability.
- (4) Those in disability group II are those who have completely lost their working ability but who need not be cared for by others.
- (5) Those in disability group I are those who have completely lost their working ability and must be cared for by others.

The Sum of the Accident Allowance

24. The sum of the accident allowance is:

Degree o	of accident	Reduction in working ability (percent)	Percent of salary average
1		16-25	8.0
2		26-35	10.0
3		36-49	15.0
4		50 and more	30.0

The Sum of the Widov's Pension

- 25. (1) The sum of the widow's pension is 60 percent of that pension which the deceased would have been entitled to in the event of group III disability.
- (2) If the death occurred because of accident or injury related to service obligations or because of an illness deriving from service the sum of the widow's pension is 60 percent of that disability pension which the deceased would have been entitled to in the event of group II disability interdependent with service obligations.
- (3) The sum of the widow's pension for the widow of a deceased person on a service pension is 60 percent of the service pension due to the deceased.
- (4) The sum of the widow's pension for the widow of a deceased person on a disability pension is 60 percent of that disability pension which the deceased was entitled to or would have been entitled to in the event of group III disability.

- (5) The sum of the widow's pension for a life-partner is 50 percent of the pension based in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs (1) -- (4).
- (6) If more than one person is entitled to the widow's pension then it must be divided among them.

The Sum of the Orphan's Allowance

26. The sum of the orphan's allowance is 50 percent of the widow's pension per orphan. An orphan with both parents deceased (a parentless orphan) gets an orphan's allowance corresponding to the full sum of the widow's pension.

The Sum of the Parent's Pension

27. The sum of the parent's pension is equal to the sum of the widow's pension. If more than one person acquires a right to the parent's pension they share the parent's pension equally.

The Advantaged Retirement Allevance

- 28. (1) The family members of the heroic dead get an advantaged pension.
- (2) The advantaged widow's pension goes to that widow who lived at the time of his death with a member of the professional staff who is proclaimed an heroic dead.
- (3) The sum of the advantaged vidow's pension is 70 percent of the pension which would be awarded on the basis of group II disability related to service obligations.
- (4) The advantaged orphan's allowance is half of the advantaged widow's pension per child; in the case of a parentless orphan it is equal to the advantaged widow's pension.
- (5) The advantaged parent's pension is equal to the advantaged widow's pension.
- (6) [See above]12

Chapter V, Establishing the Retirement Allowance

- 29. (1) Retirement allowances based on this decree—including spouse supplements and family supplements—are established ex officio by an organ designated by the appropriate minister or on request. The retirement allowances established are paid by the Pension Payment Directorate of the Social Insurance Main Directorate of the National Council of Trade Unions.
- (2) A decision made in the matter of establishing a retirement allowance can be appealed to the appropriate minister within 15 days of its receipt in hand. There is no further legal remedy against a personal decision made by a minister in his sphere of authority.

30. A first and second degree medical committee of the National Medical Expertainstitute, offering opinions in regard to a reduction in working ability, will make recommendations in regard to establishing the degree of disability or the degree of reduction in working ability.

Chapter VI, Payment of the Retirement Allowance

Payment of the Service Pension

- 31. (1) [See above]13
- (2) [See above]13
- (3) [See above]13
- (4) The service pension must be paid beginning on the day following the termination of the salary of the person placed in retirement status.
- (5) Payment of the full service pension instead of a pension paid to a reduced degree must begin on the first day of the month of completion of the 55th year of life or on the first day of the month in which a 50 percent reduction in working ability is medically established.
- 32. A service pension cannot be paid prior to completion of the 55th year of life or prior to disability to a person who was placed in retirement status on the basis of points b, c, d, or e of paragraph (2) of Section 5 of the Tvr.

Payment of the Disability Pension

- 33. (1) The disability pension must be paid in full from the day of being placed in retirement status-without regard to age.
- (2) If a member of the professional staff becomes disabled after his service relationship comes to an end, the disability pension must be paid from the first day of the month in which the disability is medically established.

Payment of Other Allowances

- 34. (1) An accident allowance established on the basis of an accident must be paid from the day of the accident; an accident allowance established on the basis of an illness deriving from service must be paid from the first day of the month in which a reduction in working ability deriving therefrom is medically established.
- (2) A widow's pension, an orphan's allowance and a parent's pension must be paid from the first day of the second month following the death of the member of the professional staff; in the event of entitlement arising later they must be paid from the first day of the month in which entitlement arises.
- (3) A widow's pension, an orphan's allowance and a parent's pension must be paid from the first day of the month or from the first day of the month in which entitlement arises if it arises later, if a pensioner dies.

- (4) The accident allowance, widow's pension, orphan's allowance and parent's pension must be paid—as long as entitlement exists—without regard to work relationship and gainful employment.
- (5) Continuation of a permanent widow's pension can be requested by one whose permanent widow's pension was terminated because of a marriage after 30 April 1963 if she had reached the age entitling her to a permanent widow's pension at the time of the marriage and if she did not accept a lump sum payment. 14
- (6) If an orphan's allotment was terminated because of a marriage made on 1 July 1975 or thereafter and if entitlement otherwise exists according to the present decree then the terminated allotment can be paid on the basis of a new claim. 14

Payment of the Pension in the Event of a Work Relationship or Gainful Employment

### 35. [See above]15

Regulations Pertaining to Retirement Allowances Established on the Basis of Earlier Regulations

- 36. (1) This decree does not affect payment of retirement allowances established on the basis of earlier regulations; these allowances will continue to be paid in accordance with the earlier regulations or in accordance with the provisions pertaining to social insurance pensions of workers.
- (2) If the health condition of a pensioner receiving a disability pension on the basis of earlier regulations changes and if for this reason the sum of his disability pension must be modified then the sum of the retirement allowance must be increased or decreased, in accordance with the change in condition, by 5 percent of the sum of the disability pension at the time, by disability group.
- (3) In the event of the death of a pensioner being paid a retirement allowance on the basis of earlier regulations a retirement allowance for his family members must be established and paid in accordance with the conditions and to the extent established by this decree on the basis of the pension of the deceased.

#### Authorization

37. The appropriate minister is authorized to deviate from the payment rules established in this decree in individual cases in the interest of the service or taking into consideration social circumstances, to the benefit of the entitled person.

#### Chapter VII, Exceptional Retirement Allowances

38. (1) Exceptional allowances up to 50 percent above the allowances provided for by this decree can be authorized for members of the professional staff, and their family members, who have won outstanding merit in the course of service.

- (2) [See above] 16
- (3) The appropriate minister is authorized to authorize exceptional allowances in accordance with paragraphs (1) and (2)—within the framework determined for this purpose.

Chapter VIII, Miscellaneous and Implementing Provisions

- 39. (1) For 2 months following placement on retirement status those entitled to a retirement allow are in accordance with this decree must be paid a sum corresponding to their last monthly base salary plus regular supplements, instead of the pension.
- (2) If the member of the professional staff dies then the salary noted in paragraph (1) must be paid to those family members entitled to retirement allowances who lived with the deceased at the time of his death.
- 40. A pensioner is entitled to an exchange of pension—in accordance with the provisions pertaining to social insurance pensions for workers or in accordance with regulations pertaining thereto—or if, after his pension is established, he completes another 3 years professional service he can request that his pension be established anew.
- 41. (1) A pensioner can request a supplementation of the sum of his pension on the basis of new service time acquired after the establishment of his pension. The magnitude of the supplementation will be 1.5 percent of the average salary taken as a basis for the pension for every additional year of service.
- (2) All service time acquired while the pension is in abeyance must be figured in but the time during which the full pension was paid should not be considered. The approxpiate minister will regulate the amount of time which can be considered during which a reduced pension was paid.
- (3) Persons being paid a service or disability pension on the basis of earlier regulations are entitled to a pension supplement for service time acquired after retirement in accordance with provisions pertaining to social insurance pensions for workers if the pension was paid to a limited extent or if payment was in abeyance because a work relationship existed.
- 42. (1) In questions not touched on in this decree the regulations pertaining to social insurance pensions for workers must be appropriately applied to retirement allowances based on this decree, if the regulations do not provide otherwise.
- (2) Pensioners falling under the effect of this decree and pensioners receiving service or disability pensions established on the basis of earlier regulations are entitled to family supplements and spouse supplements in accordance with the conditions and to the extent prescribed in provisions pertaining to social insurance pensions for workers.

- 43. (1) This decree goes into effect on the day of its promulgation, 17 but its provisions must be applied to those former members of the professional staff and to the family members of one deceased who were receiving allowances at the time this decree went into effect.
- (2) The appropriate ministers will see to the execution of this decree—in agreement with the minister of financial affairs, the minister of labor affairs and the National Council of Trade Unions. The appropriate minister in the application of this decree is that member of the Council of Ministers in subordination to whom the armed force or armed body functions or, in regard to the workers guard, the national commander of the workers guard.
- (3) This decree must be appropriately applied to the professional staff of the state fire department.
- (4) The appropriate minister can extend certain provisions of this decree to members of the extended duty staff also.

#### FOOTNOTES

- Government decree No 22/1971 (VI. 1.) has been modified or supplemented by Council of Ministers' decrees No 22/1972 (VI. 21.), No 23/1977 (VII. 1.), No 7/1980 (III. 8.) and No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 2. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 3. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 4. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 23/1977 (VII. 1.).
- 5. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 23/1977 (VII. 1.).
- 6. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 7. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.). [As published; actually this paragraph does not appear in the cited decree, see above.]
- 9. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No. 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 10. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 11. Text established by Council of Ministers decree No 23/1977 (VII. 1.).
- 12. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 13. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).

- 14. Text established by Council of Ministers decree No 23/1977 (VII. 1.).
- 15. Text established by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.).
- 16. Text modified by Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III, 16.).
- 17. Government decree No 22/1971 (VI. 1.). went into effect on 1 June 1971; Council of Ministers decree No 23/1977 (VII. 1.) went into effect on 1 July 1977; Council of Ministers decree No 5/1981 (III. 16.)—with the exception of Section 9—goes into effect on 1 July 1981 while Section 9 goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

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## RECENT 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' ARTICLES DISCUSSED

Disarmament Proposals

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 12, Dec 80 pp 46-47

[Text] During the course of the last 35 years, the socialist countries have presented numerous disarmament proposals to the international community. These proposals were initiated either by individual members of the Warsaw Pact, by a few members acting jointly, or frequently by the treaty organization acting as a whole (in the most recent case, the proposals were sent directly to the member governments of NATO). Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union has played an important role in the promotion of peace and detente. Acceptance of the Soviet proposals at that time would have avoided an arms race and probably the Cold War.

In 1946, the Soviet Union came out with a proposed convention to ban the use, production, and possession of atomic weapons, as well as to order their destruction, and a proposal to reduce arms. Likewise, in 1948, the Soviet Union introduced a proposal to ban the possession and production of atomic weapons as well as to reduce by one-third the amount of arms held by each permanent member of the Security Council.

Several years later, the Soviet-American SALT negotiations initially aroused a great deal of hope that they could serve as a model for other agreements.

Leonid Brezhnev's proposal announced in October of last year in East Berlin to reduce the danger of nuclear war in Europe, accelerate disarmament of nuclear and conventional weapons, and develop mutual trust created an enormous opportunity for real detente. The proposal's acceptance would increase the possibility for ratification of SALT II and produce a climate conducive to the SALT III negotiations.

During the course of the last several years, Poland also has proposed numerous peace initiatives. Prominent among them was the 1963 Polish proposal which set into motion later ideas for disarmament by calling for the establishment of an atom-free zone in Europe and an arms reduction. In 1964, the Polish government issued a memorandum requesting a freeze on nuclear and thermonuclear weapons in central Europe. At Poland's initiative, a report on the consequences of chemical and biological weapons also was compiled. Polish dispatches to the world's governments and nations likewise have been recognized for their promotion of world peace.

In an article appearing in the May 1980 issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA, Col Boguslaw Kolodziejczyk describes not only the activities of the socialist countries with regard to detente, but also the disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union, Poland, and the entire Warsaw Pact. He also devotes a portion of his article to the military and economic aspects of arms production. Among others, the author points out that the impact of arms production on economic development is felt most sharply in the undeveloped countries. In the highly developed capitalist countries, however, the effects of arms production are severe, in that they worsen recessions. Expenditures for defense also burden the socialist countries, although to a substantially lesser degree because of a policy devoted to peace and also because military budgets are established within limits set by the required defense.

# Smoke-Producing Substances

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 12, Dec 80 pp 46-47

[Text] As in the development of means of mass destruction, progress also has been made in the methods used to conceal troop movements and important targets. Smoke-screening is included among these methods. Smokescreening is used not only for direct cover, but also even more importantly in this day and age to jam the propagation of electromagnetic radiation. Jamming is essential in the following ranges: visible, near infrared (08-3 um); medium infrared (3-50 um); and microwaves.

Known smoke-producing substances like anthracene, ferrochloro-organic, and phosphorus are very useful for direct cover, but they are ineffective in counteracting the waves from centimetric (microwave) or infrared devices. For these, smoke whose particles are larger than radiation's long waves used in jamming is necessary. Enlargement of the smoke particles' mass, however, causes their more rapid fallout, which results in the smokescreen's shorter duration.

The solution to this problem may be a change in the physical or geometric parameters of the particles produced by smoke-producing substances, which are capable of creating so-called microballoons. Among these are plastics that create a cellular foam and do not react chemically after coming into contact with the surroundings' therefore, they do not harm people destroy equipment. Such substances include thermohardening resins of the condensation type. For example, polyurethane foam has a cell structure whose thickness is 10 times smaller than that of smoke particles used to date.

Smoke particles made from plastics are hollow globules from which the term "microballoons" is derived. These globules have a size of 40-200 um, a thickness of 0.002 g/cm², and a falling speed of 1.7 cm/h, which is 12 times slower than that of traditional smoke producing substances. This type of smoke also is five times more lasting. Its ability for visible concealment is average, although its microwave and infrared jamming abilities are very good.

An article on contemporary uses of smokescreening by Lt Col Tadeusz Nowak, Doctor of Engineering entitled "Smoke-Producing Substances in the 1980s" appears in the July 1980 issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA. Readers also can find papers on recent technical innovations in smoke-producing substances for the establishment of smokescreens, such as adapter smoke grenades fired from rifles or automatic carbines from a distance of 200-300 meters or launchers of smoke rockets.

# Commentaries, Lists of Articles

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Jan 81 p 3

[Text] Among the overall costs of maintaining military forces, important factors include the increasingly complex expense, constant improvement of armament and materiel, and costs of operating the expensive equipment. As a result, our military personnel have worked for years to create a system for the use and repair of military equipment that would guarantee maximal efficiency through less utilization of materiel.

By no means trivial in this matter is the optimization of the amount and assortment of stored spare parts and repair materials, i.e., a system that covers both the essential needs of scheduled and damage repair and prevents the accumulation (freezing) of an inordinate number of parts held in reserve.

As a result of several years' experience, a standard system of planned operation was introduced in 1977 in units of every branch of the military. Col (engineer) J. Ohnsorge and Col (engineer) J. Nowacki analyze the system's functioning in the first issue of this year's MYSL WOJSKOWA. The article's title is "The Use of Standards in the Operation of Weapons and Technical Military Equipment."

Experience to date indicates the adoption of this standard system of planned operation already has brought several positive results. Above all, it has made planning work more efficient, thanks primarily to a reduction in the number of documents produced at various levels of management. Correspondence also has been reduced from superiors requesting a calculation of the length of service life on particular types of equipment through a study of the operating plans in military units, considering only permanent sizes and division into maintenance and operating groups, the size of quotas, and the size (defined by the appropriate supply organ) of the factor of standard utilization.

Thanks to a constant knowledge of the actual state of technical service life and to an independent administration of it, the possibility has been acquired to plan for the intensive use of each brand and type of equipment and to achieve the transfer among groups of a depleted service life from brand to brand. Military units are able to control the operation in order to satisfy properly their own needs and accomplish other ordered tasks as well. It also enables the management of appropriate policies to reproduce depleted service lives through the renovation or planned utilization of indispensable items so as to continue technical service.

These are only a few results achieved from the initiation of a standard system of planned operation. It also should be noted that the authors emphasize the period of initiation of the operating standards was treated as a step to perfect the system in order to demonstrate its higher level of efficiency.

Resulting from the acquired experience, a need exists to replace present statistical standards for the depletion of service life and to require military training activities on these standards through particular courses of instruction that would allow for more compact planning of military schooling and equipment use.

Also included in this task is training in operational cost accounting to achieve the desired educational, productive, and economic results, i.e., to grasp the processes of operating military equipment in a cost-effective manner. Within the realm of this task, a computerized information system was established in selected military units for experimental use in the conduct of research and the verification of various cost solutions as well as in the efficiency level of operating military equipment in order to standardise these important processes.

It also is anticipated that a callup of the organic, multitype, garrison, technicalservice warehouse will ensue that—in the conditions found in regional technicalservice depots— will favor the introduction to the system of information science measures that provide the military with the technical material currently in use.

As indicated in this article, the publication by Lt Col R. Rozanski, Doctor of Engineering entitled "Computation and Possibilities for the Application of Reliability Indicators to Assess the Costs of Repair and Exchange of Technical Devices" somewhat corresponds. The article's contents were devoted to an introduction to the methods (supported by concrete examples) used to calculate the costs of repair and exchange of technical devices to assure the reliability of their functioning.

With regard to general tactical issues, the following publications should be noted: Col (doctor) S. Piotrowski, "Some Characteristics of Night Attack"; Capt S. Suczka, "Changeover from a Meeting Engagement to Pursuit"; Col (doctor) L. Kuleszynski, "Observations of Raiding Operations"; Lt Col S. Balcerowicz, "Redeployment of Command Posts"; Col (engineer) J. Stanisz, "The Role of Terrain in Battle"; Col J. Milewski, "Principles for the Use of Smoke on the Hodern Battlefield"; Maj J. Garstka, Doctor of Engineering, "Airborne Puel Cargoes"; and Maj (engineer) S. Naczynski, "Forms and Methods for Raising the Qualifications of Military Instructors."

On the subject of organization and information science, the following articles are useful: Capt T. Persjanowa, "Institutional Forms of Economic Cooperation among the CEMA Countries in the Area of Electronic Computer Computation"; Maj (engineer) J. Baczkowski, "Organization of Work in the Operations Branch of the Information Processing Center during Use of the Operating System"; as well as Maj (doctor) J. Haschka and Capt (engineer) T. Michalowski, "Impact of the System GEORGE-3 on the Design and Application of Computerized Information Systems."

The contents of the issue supplement the position of our military allies' historical and military sections, including reviews and discussions.

# 'DZIENNIK POLSKI' DISCUSSES DEMOCRATIZATION IN POLAND

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 14 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by Aleksander Matejko: "The Ups and Downs of Democracy"]

[Text] The difficult economic situation in Poland does not hold good prospects for the future if one takes into consideration the \$23 billion debt, the need to devote almost all exports to its payment, the growing shortages of food connected with the catastrophic plight of agriculture (besides, with respect to conditions of soil and climate it is one of the worst in Europe), the squandering by the former party-state leadership 6, the bulk of our resources in unproductive investments, the very limited possibilities of obtaining additional credits from abroad, the difficulties of placing Polish industrial goods in foreign markets, the bureaucratic structure of the economy and also the deepening exasperation of the people with the growing shortages in consumer goods.

It is one of the paradoxes of this difficult situation that the very hopelessness of it to a certain extent itself protects Poland against the armed intervention of the USSR (so far!), since simply incalculable difficulties would befall those intervening, arising not merely from the quite probable active and passive resistance of the people, but at the same time from the necessity to feed the people, to force them back to work, to pay the foreign debts, etc.

Obviously one cannot speak of correcting the situation in Poland without the country's attaining some sort of internal equilibrium, which in turn demands an amelioration of the conflict of an unavoidably antagonistic character between: the atheistic ruling elite and the Catholic masses; between the all-powerful bureaucracy and the independent trade unions; between the young, increasingly better educated generation and the demoralized mass of people illegally occupying the most profitable positions; between the nucleus of the power apparatus which is relatively well provided for materially and the impoverished rest of society; between socially nonproductive industry and the unfairly neglected agriculture; between the cities which are traditionally privileged (above all, Warsaw) and the rest of the country which is discriminated against (particularly the small hamlets).

Poland is always threatened by a return to an absolute tyranny which would have the support of the extremely conservative Soviet circles, but which would want to exploit patriotic feelings for its own purposes in the name of apparent "independence." The associations that are currently forming independently of the PZPR have an extraordinary opportunity to unite the Polish people and to activate their best energies, but at the same time, the existence of these associations continues to remain under

constant threat. There is simply no doubt that the PZPR-having at its disposal greater force than now and having concrete economic accomplishments of a sort-would have mercilessly suppressed the independent associations, above all the free trade unions. In the present difficult situation, there remains nothing else for the PZPR to do than to put off this suppression until later, relying on the hope that in the meantime it will manage to appease and crumple the independent leaders, as happened both in the late fifties and the early seventies.

The principal difficulty for the PZPR lies very likely in the fact that the party continues to be bound by the bureaucratic and authoritarian model of socialism of the Soviet type, and support in the USSR is guaranteed only so long as the PZPR retains precisely this model. Of course, certain temporary departures are permitted but these are of a tactical nature. Again, on the other hand, probably the overwhelming bulk of the members of the PZPR are acutely aware that the above model is entirely impractical and that it will be possible to impose it upon the Polish people only by brutal force—with all the damaging and humiliating results.

The "modernization" promoted by the Gierek faction did not succeed principally due to the fact that the model of socialism then obtaining really did not permit it. The corruption of the elite was only derived from the clash between the modernization of the economy and the model in which they wished to maintain the economy by force. Where it is not possible to settle anything very important without "greasing," corruption inevitable accompanies every economic move and demoralizes the administrative apparatus.

In Poland, this demoralization was all the more painful due to the fact that valuable resources were squandered at the cost of a huge effort by millions of people, poorly paid, in difficult living conditions (especially in the country), overworked, treated spiritlessly by superiors, burdened incessantly by various additional responsibilities in the form of work on Sunday, etc. Some previously profitable projects were neglected in favor of apparent effects. For example, Poland imports by sea more and more grains and fodder, but the costs of the primitive reloading operation in Polish ports greatly increase expenditures which could be avoided by building a specialized grain and fodder base in Gdynia. However, they do not have the resources for this, for they have been squandered on costly and unprofitable projects.

It is completely certain that the economic situation in Poland will worsen in the next few years instead of improving. The PZPR, remaining in power and bearing almost exclusive responsibility for the present, past and future sacrifices of the people, will find itself in a very difficult situation. The very fact that almost the entire administrative apparatus has been canvassed down to the lower ranks is becoming something very cumbersome these days. Therefore the need to open greater opportunities for advancement to nonparty people than heretofore is more and more often mentioned officially.

On the other hand, power and privileges were and still are almost the sole motive for entering the PZPR; thus, flashing a green light to nonparty people would seriously reduce the attractiveness of the PZPR. Therefore, the personnel policy of the PZPR will undoubtedly be shaky and inconsistent, based upon rewards for loyalty, the granting of key positions to people, and a winking at the inefficiency of persons who have been promoted. It is difficult to imagine that the PZPR would want to share power and privileges with any sort of other groups: we are probably talking about marginal groups not well anchored in society, open to the favor and disfavor of the PZPR and easily suppressed at any moment.

The free trade unions, the Catholic Church, the political opposition and other independent groups are potential sacrificial lambs for the PZPR. The opinion is already being promoted at present in mass delivery centers that an important share of the growing economic difficulties were the fault of the free trade unions. However, the more critical the situation becomes, the more difficult it is for the hetherto existing centers of power to decide upon drastic action, taking into consideration the fact that the government has nothing attractive to offer society. At present, neither the Polish People's Republic nor the USSR has resources in reserve with whose help it would be possible to "sweeten" what lies ahead for the Polish people under a possible tyranny. The situation in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was completely different with respect to the relative wealth of the country and also to the then better situation of the USSR. The occupation of Poland by Soviet forces would be particularly costly for the USSR and at the same time would not hold out any hope that its treatment would be something temporary.

The longer Poland remains free from direct foreign intervention, the greater will be the hope that both the leadership of the PZPR and the independent centers of collective self-government will manage in time to establish principles of coexistence between them. The very difficulty and even outright hopelessness of the present economic problems already tends toward a tolerably peaceful cooperation. Without acceptance by the free trade unions, the government as employer will not be able to come to an understanding with the world of labor. Again, on the other hand, the unions are not in a position to assure their membership a real improvement in their lot without a recovery in the state economy and the activisation of nongovernmental economic institutions. Correctly understood, the good of the Catholic Church directs the attention of the episcopate to the possibilities of compromise. For the ruling atheists, a tolerable contentedness of the Catholics is a guarantee of survival.

Poles can differ very much among themselves and have long-standing grudges against one another, but in the present tragic situation the common fate of the nation binds them together absolutely. They know that they must count primarily upon themselves and that no foreign power will give them anything for nothing. What is more, the national honor is open to worldwide accusations of irresponsible militancy. Many Poles in the country are embittered by the fact that foreigners do not appreciate the comtemporary Polish effect as a massive opposition against the antidemocratic nature of the Soviet system imposed upon the Polish people by force and which squanders its best qualities. The fact that present-day Poles have displayed courage (and caution at the same time) in their opposition to bureaucratized evil has in considerable measure gone unappreciated until now in the democratic West, where the inhabitants, enjoying their freedom daily, have lost the ability to savor it.

The economic situation in Poland is becoming worse primarily for the reason that the current state of organization of society has not permitted the mobilization of social and moral energies for curing the apparent state of affairs. About 50 million zlotys are locked up in machines and equipment already purchased but not yet installed, of which two-thi ds are imports. The economy is burdened by large numbers of investments which require additional, quite large expenditures (sometimes from imports) in order to put them fully into service, but they were ill-conceived from the beginning. For example, a low-power Massey-Ferguson tractor based on a foreign license displaced the production of domestic tractors, yet proved to be decidedly unprofitable; and at the same time, the development of its production was quite drawn out. In Poznan, the construct on of trucks has been abandoned in favor of domestic tarpans

(a farm vehicle), but once again this idea proved unprofitable. The production of color TVs based on an American license is behind time and in the process the importation of parts from abroad greatly increases the cost. The construction of the steel plant in Katowice has actually hindered the modernization of the rest of metallurgy, and in the process half of the exports from this plant carry losses.

The whole thing is that departmental and regional pressure groups have for years been imposing their own preferences upon the Polish economy without regard for the real interests of all. Not a few investments based upon imports were made not in order to assure the welfare of Poland, but to be able to economize to the maximum on trips abroad for the members of a given influential clique or to strengthen the political position of a given dignitary. The economic plan is subject in the large to inevitable modifications in order to ensure priority to groups more powerful in a given situation than other groups. Planning on the middle echelon is a battlefield between the agitated spokesmen of individual departments, each of which has its own welfare in mind. In actuality, it is a "drame of power which itself constitutes right, itself carries out the latter, and itself monitors the correctness of its execution." With the greatest of ease and without ceremony, it can at any moment change what it has laid down, destabilizing the economic and social structures, destroying the harmony without which no government can function." (POLITYKA, 1980, No 47, p 4)

More and more clearly, we recognize in Poland the need to establish on new bases, coexistence between states whose power and authority have undergone extensive weakening and the growing center of rank-and-file self-government of the people. On 10 November 1980 the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński, at an audience for the activ of the NSZZ Solidarity enhorted harmony, order and progress in the common interest. Among other things, he said: "Satisfying the most basic rights requires a hierarchy of values and patience. The most important thing is to save the nation and the Fatherland, and in the present system—also to save harmony and social, cultural, moral, religious and economic order."

The matter at issue is whether and how far Solidarity can and should take coresponsibility for production and management if the PZPR wishes this for itself. It was no accident that at the seventh plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR, M. F. Rakowski accused the leadership of Solidarity of the prevalence among them, on all counts up to now, of a course toward destabilization "of an already extremely difficult situation," instead of a course toward collaboration and cooperation with the state "and thus with the party as well as with its traditional allies."

At the Solidarity eymposium on 4 November 1980 the distinguished opposition economist Stefan Kurowski expressed the opinion, shared by a firm majority of the leadership of Solidarity, that the proper sphere of action of the new unions should be that of distribution and not that of production. One must exert collective pressure for a change in the proportions of the entire economy, in which only a third of the joint material production constitutes funds to cover people's consumption. Shifting the entire economy of Poland to the real needs of the people is an exceedingly complex task, in the carrying out of which Solidarity should participate by way of formulating postulates, but it ought not to take direct responsibility for it, since it has no power. One must demand that the national economic plan be based on negotiations with the rank and file and not by imposition from above. "Granting independence to the enterprises reduces (...) the level of negotiations by the enterprises, and increases the bargaining power of the new unions. For only independent enterprises will be able to react to demands of the unions that touch upon pay and working conditions."

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the new unions must have a guaranteed voice in the income, employment, personnel and price policies of the people, in territorial self-government, in the distribution of apartments and in the allocation of vacations to sanstoria and resorts, in social security, in legislation in the Selm, etc.

In declaring itself a dutiful partner of the PZPR, Solidarity rinks a loss of authority among the rank and file of the new unions. In the present economic situation, foregoing things is simply unavoidable. The fact that the money income of the people has grown (10 percent in 1980 and undoubtedly 17 percent in 1981) cannot mark an improvement in their lives without a significant increase in consumer goods and particularly in food.

At the same time, though production is falling in an entire series of fields, not merely as a result of the strikes but primarily due to a shortage of raw materials and poor organizations. For example, shortages in the output of coal are more than half due to the lack of adequate rhythm in its production, as well as other organizational reasons. This stems from the fact that the most modern equipment is being introduced when miners have to deliver it to the mineface on their backs, since transport has not been adequately prepared for the new tasks. Small-scale mechanization is neglected, and it is precisely that which could really eliminate the dirtiest and most exhausting work.

In this situation, one has to understand the restraint of Solidarity in committing its authority to the economic administration which thus far has been explicitly in the hands of the PZPR. In this situation, the suggestion of S. Kurowski is no doubt appropriate, that there be a clear separation of the role of the trade unions from that of the factory workers self-government as the exponent of the role of production: "In each member of the work force there is a dualism of major social roles: on one hand, the person appears in the role of entrepreneur and producer and, on the other, in the role of employee and consumer."

As R. Bugaj stated at the same Solidarity symposium: "Only self-government free from the pressure of external centers of power and possessing broad competence creates an apportunity for the coresponsibility of the work force in the proper operation of economic organizations (...). The new unions, demanding the creation of authentic institutions of self-government by no means have to (perhaps should not) commit themselves to their factory echelons directly."

It should be added that the new unions must be very careful in committing their authority in any affairs that go beyond the conditions of work and pay, since the PZPR has a vital interest in sharing coresponsibility with someone for the poor economy and for the poor prospects for the future. It seems that the leadership of Solidarity has no illusions in this respect. There is currently a tendency among the party rank and file and among elements of the leadership of the PZPR to throw the blame upon the former leaders, but this will in fact settle nothing. Besides, the loyalty of many members of the PZPR is under question, since around 700,000 of them entered the ranks of Solidarity, though without prospects for seizing positions of authority in the new unions.

To this one must add the fact that the growing militancy of the trade unio sing outside of Solidarity, which, in order in some way to become attractive to the rank-and-file membership, must match Solidarity in their demands. There is the possibility that the PZPR itself will undergo a process of democratization due to the discredit of the party leadership up to now, and the considerable weakening of the central elements. The local party organizations want to save face and demand significantly greater freedom of action than heretofore and they are in fact attaining it.

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# LEADERSHIP ROLE OF PARTY IN NEW CIRCUMSTANCES DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 1980 pp 18-20

[Text of the address of Prof Dr habilitatus Jerzy J. Wiatr, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw, at the Meeting on 18 October 1980 of the University PZPR Committee of the Warsaw University and the Factory PZPR Committee of the K. Swierczewski Precision Products Factory]

[Text] The three questions which I would like to takeup concern the structural conditions of implementation of the leadership role of the party, that is, how, within what kind of organizational framework, in which institutions, we should implement the leadership role of the party. These are, in the first place, the problems of the leadership role under conditions of a wide-scale development of the self-governing organizations of the working people; secondly, the matters closely bound up with the party-state apparatus relationship, and thirdly, the intraparty premises and the conditions of a proper implementation of the leadership role of the party.

The first of these questions suggests itself most forcefully in the circumstances when on the strength of the agreements concluded in the summer of 1980 the new trade union organizations have been formed and are being formed, whereas the old trade union and social organizations grouping the working people are in substance shifting their capacity. These changes constitute, in my opinion, the advance toward better implementation of the leadership role of the party, under the condition, however, that everyone should be fully aware that there is no contradiction between the principle of the leadership role of the party and a wide-scale development of the self-governing, independent organizations of the working class and other working strata.

Sometimes, in our ranks, one may encounter doubts about whether these independent organizations can be reconciled with the leadership role of the party. More often, in the ranks of our opponents are being voiced apprehensions that these independent organizations may become a springboard for calling into question or outright elimination of the leadership role of the party. Both should be decidedly rejected. Apart from this, however, it is necessary to be aware of the consequences of implementation of the leadership role of the party under the new, changed circumstances. For, these consequences are quite far-reaching.

We are relinquishing a certain model of implementation of the leadership of the party, the model that may be reduced in this case to the concept that everything or almost everything that exists in an organized form is directly controlled by the

party and that the party issues directives which are likewise binding on the trade unions and other social organizations. Such was the model which did not stand up to the test of life. There were, moreover, errors and distortions resulting from the imperfection of the model itself. They are at present being submitted to criticism and being eliminated. Furthermore, the model itself contained in it a definite principle which we are at present relinquishing—the principle of subordination, even though this might never have been expressed in official documents. We are relinquishing this, and that is the gist of the new trade union movement. The leadership role of the party can and ought to be implemented inside the new trade union movement and inside of other independent, self-governing organizations of the working people. I am speaking of all others, for the issue does not boil down to the trade unions alone. There are also youth organizations, various forms of self-governing cooperative societies, etc.

The party ought to be present in this movement. If here and there, it happens that particular links of the party or its individual members assume in relation to independent trade union organizations the attitude as though of an offense or of rejection, that may result in a weakening not an enhancement of the leadership role of the party. On the contrary, the leadership role of the party in the new circumstances requires, in my opinion, the presence in this movement and the struggle aimed at assuring for the members of the party a strong position in it, in order to influence—in a democratic way—the trade union movement or other social movements and ensure in these unions a direction of action consistent with the policy of the party and with goals of the building of socialism.

This is an incomparably more difficult way, and—let us say frankly to ourselves—it requires all of us to acquire new abilities. After all, at present, a member of the party, to become a trade union worker, a trade union leader, must win this leadership. He cannot be appointed, designated, brought in "in a briefcase," as a chairman, secretary, etc. He can become a trade union worker, a trade union leader, only when he is called upon to fulfill this role by his comrades in work. Such is the new context of implementation of the leadership role of the party in connection with changes which are taking place not only in the trade union movement but in general in the organizational structure of the working class and working masses.

The second question is connected with the party-state apparatus relationship. In my opinion, the leadership role of the party in our practice to date was often equated with the function of government administration, the function in which party and state apparatus were doubles. It was expressed in some formal resolutions, as for example, a very controversial principle, introduced in the first half of the 1970's, that the first secretaries of the corresponding party committees automatically became chairmen of the People's Councils. That has brought about such situations that the People's Council, which ought to be a body expressing the will of citizens of the given voivodship or gmina (rural parish), exchanged its representative for an absolute outsider, as a result of a change of the first secretary of the voivodship, city or gmina committee.

This is, obviously, a singular example. Generally speaking, we are concerned with the separation of competences, and in a way with the removal of the party from a direct involvement in administration, which would permit it to concentrate on the fulfillment of its principal function, that is, in the first place, determination of the strategic direction of the action; secondly, the winning of democratic

acceptance of this direction by the masses; thirdly, the training of the party cadres which will have to fulfill their duties in the state apparatus, and, finally, fourthly, the controlling of those members of the party in the state apparatus.

These four functions are, in our opinion, the essence of the leadership role of the party in relation to the state apparatus, whereas the leadership role of the party in relation to the state apparatus should not consist in decisions being taken for the state apparatus.

The third question which I would like to take up is the intraparty premises of the leadership role of the party. If the party's fulfilling the leadership role, then its internal affairs become the matter of nationwide importance. This is so for many reasons. In the first place, it is because the party by its proper style of internal democracy is establishing a certain kind of example for other parts of the national political system. Secondly, it is precisely because the party plays a leadership role, therefore, how it manages its affairs has a decisive effect on everything that is going on in the country. This, naturally, applies to many spheres of our life. And so, for example, intraparty democracy should have a natural support in the real eligibility of party authorities at all levels.

The matter seems to be self-evident since it is guaranteed by statute. However, as we know, the implementation of these statutory enactments, especially in recent years, decidedly diverged from the principle of eligibility, so that already appointments of the executive bodies and committees of the primary level were made on the basis of the party regulations which considerably limited possibilities of putting up candidates by the rank-and-file members of the party. In appointments to leadership positions, for example of first secretaries, the initiative of the members of party echelons, and even more of rank-and-file members of the party was more and more restricted and replaced by a practice which had more to do with designation than election. And this has no connection with a question whether "good" or "no good" comrades performed these functions. For, as always in life, there were among them excellent, good, average and weak, whereas such practice surely considerably weakened intraparty democracy.

With the question of eligibility is also connected the problem of party apparatus.

The party apparatus is necessary and no man of sense can postulate its elimination. But it is not out of place to ponder if that is to be an apparatus of professionals who are working all their lives in a professional party apparatus, or it should be an apparatus to which are delegated for a certain period of time persons from various walks of life: workers, peasants, intellectuals—men who have their professions and who relinquish their professions for a definite period of time and to which they will return.

It is not so. At present, the numerically predominating type of professional worker of the party apparatus is a man who, after graduation, for the most part has begun his first professional work in the youth or party apparatus and remained in this work as long as his possibilities of political activity had lasted. It is unsound, bad, for it separates the apparatus from experience available in various environments and generates the false conviction that real political wisdom is the attribute of the professional apparatus alone. It is also an attribute of the professional

apparatus, but surely the fact of such a narrow recruitment separates this apparatus from the working class, from intellectuals, from the working masses at large, and is one of the sources of deformation of party life.

And, finally, the matter of the highest party authorities. The leadership role of the party is affected when the collectivity of the party leadership at the highest level is limited. And it is restricted when one function, the function of the first secretary of the Central Committee overwhelms all others. Comrade Kania spoke of it in his speech delivered in the first part of the sixth plenum of the Central Committee when he was elected to fill this very function. He said that he wanted to be the one who in a collective leadership would help to shape the collective wisdom, the collective will of the party.

So it should be, but it has not been so. Actually it was something like the teams of advisers or assistants of the first secretary presiding over these statutorily collegial leadership bodies. Even a modest man in these circumstances would have to lose his sense of reality.

In consequence, a change in the way of the array of the highest authorities in the direction of a real collegialism, exchangability of functions in a body of collective leadership, etc., are the premises requisite that the party at its highest level might properly implement its real leadership role.

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# ZDZISLAW STAHL REVIEWS PARIS, BONN PRESS ON POLISH SITUATION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 13 Feb 81 p 2

[Article by Zdzislaw Stahl]

[Text] I have made the statement several times that it is a great detriment to the international situation that the role of France is handled unfairly in this newspaper. On the one hand, the friendly measures it has taken, which are important for Poland, are generally omitted, concealed or glossed over and are given a biased presentation, and on the other hand, the power of France in the world and within the group of Western European states is likewise undervalued, particularly by comparison to Germany, which is overvalued.

Recently there have been particularly clear-cut instances of such unjust treatment of French actions. Near the end of January, French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, while on an official visit to Italy for talks with Italian President Pertini, was received by Pope John Paul II. The audience lasted for more than 1 hour and its primary subject was Poland. Nowhere in this newspaper was this fact expressed, although the Parisian press made mention of this audience numerous times and included many photographs of this Vatican meeting.

Following his return from Rome, President Giscard d'Estaing gave an extensive television interview on 28 January, the subject of which was his international policy. The first part of this interview, which composed about one-fourth of the whole, was devoted to Poland. Again, this appearance was reported, with considerable delay, in several lines of maliciously biased commentary. The writer, who discussed the televised statements of the French representative in an article titled "Giscard's Presidential Finish Line," laid emphasis on the unfortunate situation of the joint affirmation of the European border law by all Western powers, a subject which d'Estaing treated only marginally (in no way a new subject), and completely overlooked the most important topic—the resolute censure of possible Soviet intervention in Poland.

The 28 January interview of the French president was conducted in the form of a conversation with three journalists who themselves, for the most part, maintained an unfriendly attitude to the Elysee Palance, and particularly Alain Duhamel, a journalist from the newspaper LE MONDE, now in litigation with the president.

The president began the interview by stating that he intended to convey to French public opinion the goals of his foreign policy. He then defined these as the defense of French interests, the preservation of peace, and the sharing of France in the

organization of a world that is undergoing rapid transformation. After an extensive, somewhat polemical interpretation of these very general guidelines of his policy, the president was asked the following question by Alain Duhamel: "What role is France trying to play with regard to the Polish situation?" The president replied:

"France has been a friend of Poland and the Polish people for a long time. We have sustained this friendship. I have often visited Poland and I have regularly been in contact with its representatives. The primary attitude of France toward Poland is sympathy. Of late, Poland has faced enormous economic difficulties: price increases, popular discontentment, strikes in the Gdansk shipyards since August and a process of internal evolution. Our position with regard to this process is the following: Poland must be left to the Poles. She must be allowed to solve her problems on her own.... This means a principle of nonintervention. Any sort of external intervention into Polish affairs would give rise to very severe consequences. The whole world today is fully aware of this."

In answer to the next question put to the president by editor J. P. Elkabbach, "Have you told this to Brezhnev?" he replies: "I have told him, he knows this.... We are in constant contact and we exchange views about the situation. But this was not the sole point of my last message to him. I also remarked upon the situation in Afghanistan and other problems...but our position in this matter has been announced publicly many times and I am waiting for a reply."

Next, in answer to a question asked by editor G. Bortole concerning the intentions o of France and the West in the face of the imminence of Poland's aspirations toward autonomy, President Giscard d'Estaing stated: "I believe that the Soviet position takes into account a number of objective factors, or the consequences of any action they would take.... In a very open discussion with Premier Brezhnev in Moscow, I told him that "dentente" (which I will henceforth call the stabilization of East-West relations) could not endure a new shock and that he should have no illusions as to the meaning of this."

Then the conversation turned to problems of Poland's economic situation and the possibilities of granting her assistance. Following this, Alain Duhamel questioned, in conjunction with the visit of the president to the Pope, whether the pontiff shares the president's views on the Polish situation. To this he replied: "I cannot quote the details of the conversation, to which there were no witnesses. I can only say that my position, that of allowing Poland the freedom to resolve its problems, taking into consideration, of course, its objective situation—this viewpoint, in my opinion, was shared by Pope John Paul to a considerable degree."

Finally, toward the end of the interview, the subject of rumors of the alleged cooling off recently of Paris-Bonn relations, which President d'Estaing adamantly denied. At the same time, however, the president the dissimilar situations of France and West Germany issuing from the fact istence of East Germany and the complex of "inter-German" relations which do not affect France, but which French policy must take into consideration. The area of this dissimilarity is particularly important for us Poles, since it is apparent, above all, in a different attitude of West Germany to Polishaffairs, which is certainly less positive by Bonn than Paris.

This difference, barely touched upon during the television interview, was manifested more clearly during a new French-German "summit" which took place at the beginning of February, between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor H. Schmidt. The

final point of the communique, which referred to Polish affairs, struck a most positive note: "It is essential that Poland have the opportunity to resolve its serious problems itself, in a peaceful manner and without outside intervention." According to the press commentators, this came about as a result of pressure applied by the French president, who called for even stronger words to the Soviets.

The INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, an American daily newspaper which is published in Western Europe, carried a story in the 7-8 February issue which announced that the French president, who has sharpened the line of France in recent months, in an expression of concern over Soviet military preparedness, particularly against Poland, suggested the Western governments begin preparations for counteraction in the event of intervention in Poland. According to a letter quoted in the article, Germany did not wish to accept these suggestions.

I am of the opinion that it is necessary that this newspaper carry reports of diplomatic moves as well as the texts of the most important announcements of West European capitals relating to the situation in Poland (which was the subject of my article). This would fill certain gaps and it would also shed a different light on these issues.

8536

# MILITARY PERSONNEL CAUTIONED ABOUT LEAKING SECRETS

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish 1 Feb 81 pp 8-9

[Article by D.: "I Am In A Secret Unit..."]

[Text] Secret information is frequently disclosed due to talkativeness and references to one's "above-average" position in the military. Trials before military courts provide examples proving that soldiers are aware of the necessity of preserving military secrecy, yet often reveal military secrets—often in writing—in letters to girlfriends, friends and families. More often than not, the matters that are being dealt with are such that, if they were handled in an offical document, would render it classified as "secret" or even "secret of special importance."

"I am in a very important, secret rocketry unit," Pvt Marian P. writes to his parents, naming the location close to which a missile emplacement is found. "I am not allowed to write this, but what should I do...(he goes on to mention the class of missiles). I could be prosecuted for what I am writing here to you. All this is a military secret...."

"I am serving in a unit", Zenon H. writes in a letter to his friend listing the unit's name, the locality near which he is stationed and the train on which it can be reached. "I will say nothing else about the army because my unit, as I have mentioned, is secret. One never can tell where a letter may end up, why should I have to explain. I will just say that it is a missile unit, but what kind and what missiles—mum's the word."

These are excerpts from two letters in the files of cases under review by a military district court. Both Marian P. and Zenon H. were found guilty. It was good that such information did not make its way to persons who specifically busy themselves with collecting such data.

It cannot be claimed that Marian P. and Zenon H. did not realize how important secrecy protection is. Prior to being assigned to their units, they were instructed individually and in groups about the necessity of preserving military secrecy for the security of the country. Only two weeks before writing those "top secret" letters of theirs they pledged to their motherland: "I swear (...) exactly to follow the superior officers' orders and regulations, and strictly preserve military and state secrecy.

On the day of their arrival at their units, both of them, together with other soldiers, signed the pledge of which section "a" runs as follows: 'mpart no information on official duties you perform to outsiders and your family." The final line of this pledge is especially emphatic on the significance of secrecy involved in the carrying out of military service: "I was instructed and cautioned that I can be held criminally responsible for an infringement of this pledge, in accordance with the 26 October 1949 decree on the preservation of state and military secrecy" (as effective at the time).

Accepting their pledges was not the only thing done at their units. Talks were held with all soldiers on the importance of preserving secrecy for the sake of the country's security. Marina P. and Zenon H. broke the oath and the pledge to their motherland, their superiors and themselves, they ignored the instructions and warnings, and they violated the supreme legal act—the constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

Justice proved to be strict to them.

Facing the same military district court on charges of spying to the detriment of the Polish People's Republic was Jozef S., an engineer (subsequently sentenced to death). In his testimony he said that before one in a series of his return trips to Poland he had been instructed on how to collect information for an intelligence report.

First, he should try to establish contact with persons readily engaging in frank conversations, given to talking and naive, primarily soldiers on trains, rail stations and cafes. He should seek acquaintances among uniformed persons with weaknesses...

Following his instructions, he frequently visited post offices in towns where large army bases were located. He usually approached the counter when a solider was mailing a registered letter or a parcel. Looking over the sender's shoulder, he tried to determine the number of the military unit.

As demonstrated during the trial, Jozef S. was in part successful in his spying precisely because of his taking advantage of the talkativeness of his selected targets.

How unpleasant were the moments when persons in uniform had to face a team of military lawyers to confirm the suspect's testimony that they had been among his accidental informers. "But that engineer was so nice, likeable and engaging that it was difficult to suspect him of activities harmful to Poland. He generated trust even more readily because he was well versed in military affairs and military equipment, and had a correct assessment of relations prevailing in the military community." This is actual testimony of one of those witnesses who had lost the sense of accountability for their words during conversations with Jozef S.

Another case tried by the same military court reconfirmed the fact that cases, corridors and train compartments are good locations offering opportunities for taking advantage of human talkativeness, especially on those days when soldiers are discharged from active service...

In order to provoke a soldier to reveal information covered by military secrecy (as J.R., a convicted agent, had been instructed), it is necessary to start talking about topics that are not discussed "out loud." In the course of such conversations, depending on the soldier's branch of service, it is advisable to underrate the quality of weapons and to question their tactical and technological values.

Such "chance" conversations tend to offend the soldier's ambition and him self-enteem, causing him to try to prove that the stranger is wrong and, not infrequently, the soldier mentions facts and figures he is forbidden to use. And it is precisely such data that the collector of intelligence is after.

It is necessary to be aware of the current situation in the country, favoring the activities of people who would be glad to see Poland in a different international arrangement. That there is no lack of both external and internal adversaries to our system is seen from recent mass media reports on sabotage and ideological offensives against us. In fact, regardless of the internal and external situation, you should always be aware of what you are saying and to whom.

Legal regulations effective in our country state: "Post, telecommunications, rail and customs offices and aviation and aquatic navigation agencies, when requested, are required to issue to courts or military prosecutors correspondence or parcels of importance for an ongoing investigation, to be rightfully opened exclusively by a court or prosecutor."

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MILITIA PERFORMS DIFFICULT, NOT ALWAYS APPRECIATED TASKS

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish 1 Feb 81 pp 12-13

[Article by Zenon Goral]

[Text] For the most part, the militia is written about favorably or not at all. To begin with, expressions of good will in the form of congratulatory greetings are published in the papers on Citizens' Militia [MO] holidays, while the other references speak of the colorful pursuit of terrible criminals, crowned, of course, by the ultimate success of the men in the gray uniforms. The myth of the invincible demigod, the hero beyond reproach, the steadfast defender of law and order which prevailed in our press until recently has had an opposite effect than was intended. People have simply begun to have their doubts. Who, after all, still believes in angels at the end of the 20th century? The policeman is also a human being.

What is the truth? We are trying to find it out at the various levels of the organizational hierarchy of our militia. Let us begin with Szczecin.

Police Station No 3

An enormous area of jurisdiction, with few people. Station manager Lt Eugeniusz Laskowski greets me at the door. The lieutenant has been here for only a short time. He was formerly a deputy in Dab. Here he is the chief, I ask whether he knows why he was transferred here. He says that there was an opening and that it is a promoting for him. And does he know why his predecessor left? Yes, he does.

I ask him to explain what his duties are.

Laskowski rises from his desk, uncovers a screen on the wall and shows me a map of the town. Then he marks off maybe half this area, and maybe a little less, with his pointer and says that within this area he and his people must handle almost everything.

To change the question:

"What would you like to be involved with?"

"That's easy--prevention," he says. "We are involved with prevention, but not to the extent that we would like to be, and not to the extent that is needed. There just isn't the time and energy. This field is cultivated best with the youth. We have a vested interest in this, since these children, these young people will someday be adults and it would be nice if there would not be problems with them at least."

I encourage the manager to talk about his current problems.

### Graverobbers

It is said that this cemetery is the largest in Europe. Perhaps this is so, perhaps not. What is important, however, is that the living and those who have already died find peace here. Until recently the cemetery only seemed to be quiet. Militia records make note of several rapes, burning people alive and other murders here, not to mention the systematic theft and desecration of graves. Professional gangs have been at work here, filching everything they could get their hands on. Most often flowers have fallen prey to their ravages. One day a grave is covered with a carpet of flowers, in the morning the family or friends come and no trade of flowers remains. Thus the outcry: "What is the militia doing? What are they being paid for? They manage to slap fines on peaceable people, and they cannot catch thieves."

The graverobbers made the biggest hauls during the days preceding feasts honoring the dead. They made a business of selling candles, eternal flames, wreaths and flowers. The scoundrels became so impudent that they robbed graves in broad daylight with people watching.

The lieutenant was bent on putting an end to this. He set up the schedule in order to provide a maximum number of policemen for that area. Soldiers helped them out. Joint patrols checked out suspicious characters. Peace-loving individuals could breathe easy—no one defiled the places of eternal rest of the dead. But there were still those who had something to say: "Look, patrols! They don't even give the dead any peace!"

"How can you please people?" the manager wonders. "But no matter what they say, what is important is that recently the number of crimes in the cemetery has been markedly reduced."

The Lure of Four Wheels

Another problem that the lieutenant loses sleep over is cars. It is not that he disapproves of motor vehicles—he has one himself. But there are an awful lot of amateurs at the wheel of somebody else's car in Szczecin.

They may be divided into several groups. The first group includes those whose game is the whole car. They steal them, they take them from lots, repaint them, pound out the serial numbers and sell them. The second is the group of those who need stolen cars for the parts. Because of the chronic lack of replacement parts on the market, it is not the easiest matter to buy them. The third group is made up of those who merely "borrow" someone else's property. This character has had a few drinks, he breaks into a car, rides on some distance, and then smashes into a tree or lands in a ditch. If he is still in one piece after the crash, he runs away.

And finally, the last group: those who are not interested in cars, but in their contents. Their prey is predominantly the foreign luxury car--these provide the biggest haul.

What does the militia do about this? They do what they can. They keep an eye on amateurs under investigation, check parking lots, handle the security of automobiles standing at stopping-places and take preventive action.

"Fine, fine," someone may say, "but cars are still being stolen in great numbers. Statistics show that such theft was once considerably less."

"Of course," the lieutenant agrees, "but there were also fewer automobiles once. People kept better watch over their property, most cars were kept in garages." The rate of detection of such crimes is relatively high, over 80 percent. But this in no way means that the militia has given up on the other 20 percent. They never overlook an opportunity to unravel a case which had been-to all appearances--forgotten.

But do people appreciate this? Most drivers see the policeman as someone who is afer his wallet, so that he can wangle him out of a few hundred zlotys by making him pay a fine. But then when something happens, he runs straight to the authorities.

# He Wants Blood

What is the lieutenant's most thankless task? Is he some sort of incomprehensible madman, wanting blood from people? While it is true that it is not a common occurrence that people are murdered on their own territory, it does happen.

Take the case of a 20-year-old youth seized for theft. The militia proposed to the public prosecutor that he be locked up until his trial. Madame prosecutor, however, told them that the boy was so young, maybe he would mend his ways, he should be given a chance.

They were of the opposite opinion—they knew him well—but he was set free in accordance with the wishes of the prosecutor. He used the "chance" he had been given in his own way. In broad daylight he murdered a 70-year-old woman, first raping her and—according to the doctor's report—breaking several of her ribs and damaging her windpipe. As if that were not enough, the murderer left the scene of the crime, a trash dump at which the old woman was collecting bottles, was noticed and recognized by two young men. One of these ran away, but the other came up to him and asked:

"Slavek, what have you done!"

Those were the last words of that young man. He was murdered, carried about 400 meters and buried.

What did the murderer do after killing two people?

He returned home, "downed a few shots of works" for courage and went dancing. In the morning he returned home and set about finding the body of the young man he had slain.

The militia did not allow itself to be led by the nose for very long. Within 24 hours from the time the crimes were committed they determined who the murderer was.

How did people react to this?

Again they said that the policemen are paid for doing nothing, because criminals murder old women and children in broad daylight.

Take another case. Rapes have been reported in the Arkonski woods. The rapist's victims have always described the rapist in the same way. The millitia set traps, combed the woods, scoured the whole area and found nothing. They patrolled the grounds. But how long can they sit in one place? A week, two, three? So they moved on to other takes, and the rapist again abducted another girl, grabbing her by the neck, and forced here into the bushes. And what was the outery then?...

In the end they caught him. The father of an upstanding family, a shipyard worker. He would come to work, punch his time card, let people know that he was in, jump the fench, ride to the woods and begin stalking his prey...

Was his capture widely reported? No. It was explained that this was for the good of the people, in order not to arouse their fears.

### All Children Are Ours

We remember this slogan from the International Year of the Child. But the lieutenant knows fathers, he knows mothers, who are not worth mentioning, because even the blood of the most placid man would boil if he gave thought to the way these people treat their children. But what can he tell me, when there is a specialist here in these matters, 2d Lt Anna Puks.

The lieutenant emphasizes that she receives much help in her work from the Szczecin squad. They can be counted on to help, organize, facilitate.

And the children? They are all the same, they cuddle up to people. They want to be warm, especially the youngest ones. The older they are, the more serious the problems and the more sinister the matters. The role of the militia is to ward off problems. That is why they have lists of children whom they are to keep an eye on and who are really in need of help. But what means do they have of offering this assistance?

I ask how many of those whose names are on the lists will grow up into decent people. Lieutenant Anna looks at the manager, and then says with some uncertainty: "Well, maybe 80."

The manager adds: "Let's hope so."

Shake in Your Boots, You Scoundrels!

"So you see" says Lt Col Kajetan Wandowicz, a frequent visitor here, "you are looking for thrills, drama and you have everday arduous life. The everyday life of the policeman, about whom people know so little and whose life they always talk about..."

"They say our life is colorful, grandiose; and that they appreciate us, may I add."

"Let's not exaggerate, editor," the manager interrupts, "we all know the score. But not everyone knows that contact with frontier guardsman is very worthwile for us. Besides, I suspect that it's good for the soldiers too. We conduct many activities with them, society-oriented activities. Why do we do this? I already said, we have a vested interest in this. That is, that regardless of instructions, orders and rules at the higher level, down here in the ranks it is good for the policeman to have the soldier for a friend and often, an aid. Particularly when our manpower is limited. On the other hand, in a few months, in a year or so this same soldier who now works with us, learning our life, will shed his uniform and return to civilian life. And then it will be even more important that he view the policeman as his ally as well as that he be able to explain this to others.

Our profession does not enjoy the greatest sympathy—after all, when do we meet the people? For the most part, when we have to reprimand someone, slap him with a fine, or even use force. Is an offender going to love us for this? I am overlooking the relatively rare instances of holidays, anniversary celebrations and official ceremonies to which we are invited and at which we occupy a place of honor. Then they tell us how fond of us everybody is. But these are words. With deeds it is a different story."

Once again the manager emphasizes that the help of soldiers and preventive work is very important for the militia. For when the time comes that every citizen sees a policeman not only as the "authority," but also as the guardian of the citizen's interests, then—shake in your boots, you scoundrels! Then incidents such as those we have talked about will not happen. The manager believes that someday this will happen. Otherwise, would it be worth it for him to sit for more than 10 hours a day, developing plans of preventive actions in his area, meeting with various groups, explaining, agitating, trying to convince? For the policeman is also a human being, he too has the right to a normal life, a family, rest, recreation.

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# SOLIDARITY COMMUNIQUE ON MO, PARTY TRAINING SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 14 Feb 81 p 4

[Communique by Jacek Jagielka and Jan Gorny for the Board of NSZZ Solidarity in Katowice]

[Text] We demand public disclosure of who decided and why it was decided to build training centers for party cadres and provincial and local headquarters of the Civil Militia [MO] in Katowice, Gliwice, Czeldaż, Dzmbrowa Gornicza, Będzin, Częstochowa and other cities throughout the country?!

Party houses, MO commands, jails and prisons have been built while neglecting simply everything and leading the country into the greatest indebtedness in the world and into economic and biological ruin of the nation. An attempt has been made to destroy the culture and the morale of the people.

As much as we inquire into the economic difficulties, there is still nothing written about the catastrophic situation in health care. The situation is simply tragic and doubly so: for those awaiting help and for those who wish to provide it.

### Here are the facts:

- --The share of expenditures for health services amounts to 0.6 percent of the national income, compared to an average of 5 percent in the socialist countries and 1.5 percent in the highly developed countries;
- --we have one of the highest rates of infant mortality in Europe;
- --we have reached a catastrophic state of health, and patients lie on carts and on mattresses strewn on the floor in the vestibules of clinics and hospitals;
- --a lack of basic drugs, first-aid measures and basic surgical apparatus and instruments;
- --fifty-one percent of the health service workers live on the edge of proverty, earning less than 3,000 zlotys per month;
- -- many doctors and qualified ancillary personnel emigrate for reasons of pay;
- -- the average wage in the health service is 2,400 zlotys lower than the national average;

- --common diseases are: rheumatism, due to poor living and working conditions and a lack of good clothing;
- --diseases of the alimentary system--because we live on what cannot be sold abroad;
- --alcoholism is consciously promoted (huge profits from sales); diseases of the respiratory system resulting from the poisoning of the natural environment, and many others:
- --instead of mid- and lower-level personnel, convicts, soldiers and Voluntary Labor Force youth are hired;
- --people suffer and die due to a lack of space in the hospitals.

Mindful of these facts, the people of our region have many times protested against constructing the MO Provincial Headquarters on Gornoslaski St in Katowice. Demands were made to transfer this building to health services or to education or to hotels and to other relatively neglected resorts. The government signed an understanding with the NSZZ Solidarity in Katowice and in Jastrzeb on this matter. The understanding has now been broken.

Despite the public agreement, the MO Provincial Headquarters is already moving into the building, whose rooms have not yet been plastered. Those who are responsible for keeping order now break it.

We want to believe our government and all of us want to have equal rights, to be free from fear and privation; we want our wishes to be the wishes of all Poles, including those who work in the agencies of the MO and the Security Services.

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CSO: 2600

END

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